SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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ROMANZO ADAMS SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY

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BASIC CRISES

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FOREWORD

The year 1958 marks the 22nd annual publication of Social Process in Hawaii by the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory and the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Every issue of Social Process has emphasized some important facet of Hawaii's changing way of life. The varied cultural contents of the people in Hawaii interact to provide a kaleidescopic process of great complexity. The interaction of various races offers the sociologist a rich field for the study of race relations. To understand Hawaii as a whole, each culture that is a part of Hawaii must be studied.

As a theme for this issue the staff of Social Process has chosen "Basic Crises in Hawaii." Included are the personal crises of birth, marriage, aging, and death, the adjustment by immigrants and their children to the wider community, to war, to religious diversity.

The following articles present an examination of the crises experienced by members of the various races in Hawaii.

Bernhard L. Hormann, professor of sociology, in his article, "Problem of the Religion of Hawaii's Japanese," studies the Japanese youths in Hawaii and the conflict between the Japanese traditional religious beliefs and Christianity. Professor Hormann notes that there is a definite turning to Christianity among the younger generation.

"Changing Attitudes Toward the Care of Aged Japanese Parents in Hawaii" by Dr. Clarence Glick, Alice T. Higa, Irene S. Nose, and Judith M. Shibuya analyzes a tradition and its effect on the sons of Japanese immigrants. Living in an American culture, Nisei sons view the problem of "oya-on" (care for aged parents) with a mixture of attitudes.

"Japanese Funeral Practices in Pahoa" by Sueko H. Kimura presents with specific details the practices followed in a plantation community whenever there is a death among the Japanese.

The part-Chinese male student who wrote the account "Changing Rituals in Chinese Births and Deaths" wished to remain anonymous. He describes the Chinese birth and funeral customs and the process of thinning out which these rites were undergoing.

Darrow L. Aiona's paper, "Hawaiian Funeral," describes vividly how one particular Hawaiian sect buries its dead. He shows how this crisis serves to integrate the group and to relate it to both its early Hawaiian cultural and its Christian heritages.

Joyce Nishimura's "The Adjustments of a Young Immigrant" reveals the conflicts and adjustments which are encountered by a Japanese immigrant coming into contact with the western culture in Hawaii.

"Reflections: An Autobiographical Sketch" by Andrea Sakai describes the experiences of a Mainland Nisei: her early childhood in a community with few Japanese, her life in internment and relocation camps where she was surrounded by Japanese, her postwar return to the West Coast, and her more recent reaction to life in Hawaii.

"Effects of the Husband's Role Upon Successful or Unsuccessful Termination of Pregnancy: Preliminary Findings" by Dr. Louisa Howe

examines the effects that husbands have during their wives' pregnancy. Dr. Howe who is conducting the Kauai Pregnancy Study, presents a few preliminary results of her project.

Two social workers, Margaret Smalley and Charlotte Woodruff, noting that Hawaii is a leader in the United States in a number of adoptions, discuss changing legal and social work standards in their article, "Adoption in Hawaii."

Ian M. Chapman's "Strangers in Paradise, Chronic Crisis in a Honolulu Downtown Church" deals with the typical crisis of all urban downtown churches, accentuated in Hawaii by factors of race, the presence of large numbers of servicemen, and a very rapid turnover of a large segment of the Caucasian population.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RELIGION OF HAWAII'S JAPANESE

Bernhard L. Hormann

Recent debate over the desirability of including a question on religious identity in the 1960 U.S. census served to point up the fact in Hawaii that information about the religious make-up of the present population is woefully inadequate.

While during the last century, prior to annexation, official Hawaiian censuses obtained information on the religious identity of the population, the data did not apply to the growing Oriental population, and since 1900 the U.S. practice of not asking people about their religion has prevailed. The question thus arises: What might we expect by way of response from the various ethnic groups in Hawaii? It is my conviction that in regard to three groups, the Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiians including Part Hawaiians, we have so little to go on that it would be very daring to hazard even an "educated guess" as to how these three important population elements, coming to about three-fifths of the total population, would identify themselves religiously. It is my intention here to survey the sparse data on the religion of the Japanese population, 184,611 in the 1950 census, almost two-fifths of the total, from the point of view of this problem and to discuss the difficulties involved.

Official statistics by religious bodies on the Japanese affiliated with them are unavailable for most Japanese Christians, or not very meaningful, for Japanese Buddhists and Shintoists. There is a traditional lack of concern on the part of Buddhist temples over membership statistics, and when statistics are provided they often refer to families or family heads instead of to individuals, or to membership in temple organizations, such as women's clubs and Sunday schools. Such figures, when last gathered together and added up a little over a year ago by Dr. Harley H. Zeigler, then director of the Hawaii School of Religion, came to 62,200 active followers, but the statistics indicate little internal consistency both in the kind of records on which they were based and on the way children were counted. Rougher estimates as to the total number of Japanese Buddhists have on rare occasions been made by Buddhist leaders and have come to 125,000 or more, or in the vicinity of at least 70 per cent of the Japanese population.

In regard to Shinto adherents, Zeigler came out with a liberal estimate of a little over 20,000 Japanese as members or followers of non-Buddhist Japanese religions. In general, the emphasis is on the word "followers" rather than "members" and these would include large numbers who would also be on occasion involved with Buddhist rites, in the manner which has for long been characteristic in Japan.

Sample studies of one sort or another may give us a clue about the way Japanese might indentify themselves. During the war the Kauai Morale Committee in making a survey covering nine-tenths of that island's thirteen thousand Japanese, asked about their professed religion. Of the aliens, 86 per cent professed Buddhism, 11 per cent Christianity, two individuals professed Shintoism, and only 1 per cent did not profess any religion. But among the citizen group, the percentage of professing Buddhists was down to 52 (from 86), while that of the professing Christians was up to 46 (from 11) and of those who professed no religion, up to 3 (from 1), and there were no professing Shintoists. Most of the professing Christians were no doubt not actually members of Christian churches, and perhaps the exigencies of war tended to exaggerate the number of professing

Christians among Japanese.

In a 1948 study on changing religious beliefs of college students by Dr. W. Edgar Vinacke and associates of 577 University of Hawaii students, data on the religions of both parents and students were given, unfortunately not by race. It is, however, interesting to note that while 40 per cent of the parents were given as Buddhist, only 5-1/2 per cent of the students claimed Buddhism, and the percentage of Christians went up from 38 per cent in the parental generation to 63 per cent in the student generation. The percentage giving no answer or claiming no religion rose from 4 to 23. These marked contrasts no doubt reflect primarily a changed identification in the Japanese population, since such a large proportion of the student body, usually in past years over half, is of Japanese ancestry.

In a large class at the University early in 1957 to whom I gave a simple questionnaire on religion, I found the 74 Japanese respondents indicating that in the vicinity of two-thirds of their parents were Buddhists and only about 16 per cent Christian, while only 12 per cent of the students themselves claimed Buddhism, a little over two-thirds Christianity, and 18 per cent no religious identity. There were five purely Buddhist families and ten purely Christian ones. The others were all in one way or another mixed.

In 1955 I was allowed to take off the religious preferences of the active members of Palama Settlement, most of whom are children. For the members of Japanese ancestry, I obtained the following breakdown:

Buddhist	19%
Catholic	3%
Other Christian	22%
None or no answer	56%

Here the large proportion unable or unwilling to specify a religion stands out.

A check of obituaries and mortuaries indicates that a large majority of Japanese funerals are under Buddhist auspices. One mortuary was helpful in furnishing me with this breakdown of Japanese funerals:

	1955	1956	1957 (9 months)
Buddhist	86%	78%	82%
Christian	13%	20%	17%
Shinto	1%	2%	1%

Thus it is safe to say that in the vicinity of 80 per cent of all Japanese funerals in Honolulu are Buddhist.

These different samples, none of them of course statistically representative of the whole Japanese population, suggest the impossibility of predicting the way Japanese might respond to the question as to their religious indentity.

What is, however, mainly apparent is a marked shift from Buddhism to all forms of Christianity, with many individuals at present religiously unidentified. Statistics cannot reveal the dynamic nature of this shift, which is still very much in process, and is, therefore, subject to changes in direction and even to reversals.

The dynamic nature of the shift is also apparent in the mixed

Buddhist-Christian composition of a majority of the families of the Japanese students in my class and in the fact that students describe their uncertainty, their shifting back and forth, sometimes several times, from religion to religion.

A Buddhist girl writes:

> I am still "searching" for a faith. As a child I was fairly active in church but not any longer. (1957:65)

Another Buddhist girl writes the most enthusiastic Buddhist endorsement which I obtained in the questionnaire:

> I'm a staunch Buddhist. I have come to like the philosophy involved in it. I have never changed my religion, although once when I was younger, since I didn't understand Buddhism as I thought I should then, I was planning to change my religion. (1957:67)

A Japanese male student, who designated his religion as unknown, son of moderately active Buddhist parents, writes:

> First, when I was very young I went to a Buddhist church because my parents took me there. Later (3rd to 6th grades) I went to a Catholic church. Now I don't go to any church. Here at school I took a course in Religion, which was of great interest to me. I am sort of looking over the field before I commit myself to any church; although I firmly believe in Christian principles. (1957:7)

A girl who still classifies herself as a Buddhist, makes this comment:

> I went to a Buddhist church regularly during the first two years of high school through the influence of my parents. Before that I had attended Christian churches. During the last year of high school I attended Christian services several times and joined a Christian organization. Now I am becoming a Christian, although my parents are not in favor of it. (1957:9)

The son of Buddhists has the following transition to report:

> I was first brought up in a Buddhist religion. However, during my grade school days I attended a Protestant Sunday school. I attended St. Louis College for my high school education and since then participated only in Catholic activities. (1957:53)

> A girl claims that she is a "very strong Buddhist by background. Active in YWCA work, but not ready to commit myself to Christianity. Tolerant of all religions, but perhaps not eager to change while parents still living. Parents, however, very liberal as to my wanting to change if feel committed enough." (1957:40)

An "undecided" girl writes:

> Family tradition to remain Buddhist, but I have the conflict in wanting to please parents and yet wanting to be-

come a Christian. (1957:44)

As I see it, this dynamic situation is a challenge and opportunity for the organized religions of Hawaii, particularly for Buddhism, which is inevitably somewhat on the defensive, and for Christianity, which has the initiative and some advantages in the nature of the situation. What the sects and churches make of their opportunities will help determine which ones will emerge weaker, which stronger.

My attention has been directed primarily to the young people because an understanding of their position is crucial to an understanding of the whole picture. We see fundamentally a state of searching, of indecision, of flux--what the sociologist speaks of as religious social unrest, and would interpret as an accompaniment of the Americanization process.

Some observers have worried about the decline of the influence of the established Old World religions among the Japanese, about the present lack of connection of many Japanese with organized religions of any sort, about a religious "vacuum" and the growth of secularism and materialism. I believe I see more real religious ferment than these views imply. However, what strikes me as noteworthy above all is that the Japanese have consistently maintained strong social controls over themselves and their children during these difficult transitions, to which must be added the traumatic experience of a war between the country of origin and the country of settlement. Their crime and delinquency rates have, for instance, through the years been consistently low. In several important indexes of disorganization they are surpassed by Christian groups. Here certainly is a problem to which serious thought should be given by the social researcher and by persons engaged in religious work in Hawaii. How has it been possible for an ethnic community which is religiously--at least on the surface--so divided, confused, uncertain, and loosely identified, how has it been possible for it to continue to send out into the wider community such a large proportion of persons of integrity, responsibility, and poise?

To answer this question is beyond the scope of this paper and would indeed require another paper. I will merely say what my hunch is. I believe the answer lies in the strength and integrity of Japanese family life. In some more or less successful manner the Japanese family in Hawaii has up to now remained strong and intact even as generation follows generation in a continuous process of emancipation from Old World folkways and the adoption of urbanized Western ways, including ways of worship. Perhaps the language schools are also involved in the answer. They were at least an aid to those families who sent their children to these afternoon and vacation schools that gave a kind of daily moral instruction and thus functioned somewhat like, but often more effectively than Sunday schools.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CARE OF AGED JAPANESE PARENTS IN HAWAII

Clarence E. Glick, Alice T. Higa, Irene S. Nose, Judith M. Shibuya

During the years since World War II the care of aged Japanese parents has become something of a problem in Hawaii, both in a factual and in a psychological sense. At the time of the 1940 Census only about a fourth of the 37,453 foreign-born Japanese had reached the age of sixty. It is estimated that at the present time more than three-fourths of the foreign-born Japanese (who now number considerably less than 30,000) are sixty years of age or older. Data from the 1950 Census indicate that more than ninety-five per cent of these older foreign-born Japanese had married. About one fourth of the men of this age group were widowers while about two-fifths of the women over sixty were widows. While the numbers for an intercensal year such as 1958 cannot be exact, it can be conservatively estimated that there are in the Territory more than 10,000 Japanese families in which one or both parents are over sixty years old. Undoubtedly, in a very large proportion of these families, care of the parents during their declining years has become a matter of concern to their children.

Traditionally the eldest son in Japanese families was expected to assume the responsibility of caring for his aged parents. Associated with the assumption of this obligation in village Japan was the custom of a father formally retiring on his sixtieth birthday and turning over the duties of head of the household to his male heir. Any family property came under the control of the heir who, with income from this source, together with any other family earnings, was expected to care for his aging parents and also for other sons and their families and for any unmarried siblings living in the household.

In view of the trends toward Americanization and individualism taking place in Japanese families in Hawaii it was thought worthwhile for students to interview a number of Nisei eldest sons in order to ascertain their opinions regarding their obligation to care for their parents (and any problems they felt in connection with this obligation). During the early part of 1954 five students of Japanese ancestry, working on two separate projects, decided to concentrate upon eldest Nisei sons who were white-collar workers, primarily in clerical and sales positions in Honolulu. It was believed that there had been a widespread desire among these middle class, urban persons to establish separate households in Honolulu, rather than to follow the traditional pattern of the son bringing his wife into his parents' home and rearing his children in his parents' household. Moreover, it was assumed that the adoption of American middle class values and motivations among these persons of moderate incomes might create situations in which the care of aging parents might be thought of as a financial burden. It was further hypothesized that with little property coming to the eldest sons from the parents and with younger married brothers establishing their own households and keeping their own earnings, many of the first-born sons might come to sense some feeling of injustice in being expected to assume the entire burden of caring for their parents and might therefore take the position that other siblings should share in this responsibility. The materials which follow represent some of the findings of one of these two projects in which twenty-four persons were

interviewed.* The sample is obviously small and the sampling procedures used fall short of rigorous scientific standards. The study should therefore be regarded as exploratory and suggestive rather than definitive. It does serve the purpose of providing insights into the kinds of changes which are going on in this area of Hawaii's "social laboratory," even though it is impossible to determine from such a study the precise frequencies of the changes. Perhaps the publication of these tentative findings may stimulate discussion of the subject and lead to more definitive research projects in this field.

Cho-nan and Oya-on

The interviews showed that these eldest Nisei sons were clearly aware of the traditional obligation of male heirs (cho-nan) to assume the responsibility of caring for their parents. The practice was brought to Hawaii from Japan and oya-on (literally, obligation to one's parents) was emphasized by the sen-sei (language school teachers), especially in the teaching of the shu-shin (moral principles). Two of the interviewers comment on this briefly as follows:

> The teaching of obligation in Japanese is shu-shin. You're taught this from childhood. I especially got it from Japanese school. I graduated from chu-gakko (a middle school). Respect for elders, obligation to parents are learned here and it becomes a part of you. Sure, taking care of aging parents is an obligation--but of a kind that shouldn't be questioned. Shu-shin is the thing that makes the difference.

> What made me aware that the oldest boy in the family was supposed to take care of the parents, I think it was the Japanese schools. You know they tell us stories about oya-ko-ko; what an honor it is to pay back your folks; oya-on to yu mono was what we learned in school.

Others noted that, although pressures from the Japanese community were not ordinarily necessary for acquiring a sense of responsibility toward caring for one's parents, at the same time a first-born son would not want to be talked about as a person who did not carry out his duty.

> Japanese have pride--they don't want the neighbors to laugh at them. Sure, maybe you don't necessarily care to look after your parents but you'd think twice because of what the neighborhood folks would say. In my case, they had nothing to do about my caring for my parents because I was already set on taking care of them. But I feel that in many cases the "precious pride" of keeping up your face would decide the question for you.

> In a community like mine, you can't do anything without having everyone else know about it. It works the other way too--because I learned about the duty of taking care of parents from examples set by a lot of the first sons. If they didn't do the job, people talked about it.

*The findings of the other study, made by Alice C. Kawato and Florence C. Mizuta, are substantially in agreement with those reported here.

Interviewees were in general agreement, however, that training in the home was of primary importance in acquiring a feeling of obligation toward one's parents. They varied, however, in their characterization of the types of training received in the home along this line.

> Oya-on is something that was brought with them from Japan and seeing it practiced in Japan the Issei naturally taught their children this. It's deeply ingrained in me--that's why I feel obligated to my parents.

> My mother used to talk about oya-on and that it wasn't right to forget one's parents. She'd set examples up--as good and bad--and you generally got conditioned to it.

> You know how Japanese are--they won't make you forget your obligations. My parents, although not stressing the fact that I was to care for them, by little examples made me feel that it was my job.

> I don't think that parents should over-stress oya-on. A person can see how much parents do for you without being told constantly about it.

Regardless of the sources of influence, the majority of these eldest sons willingly recognized their obligations to their parents. But there was considerable divergence in the ways in which they phrased it, as the excerpts below illustrate. Among the themes are: (1) the Japanese custom is accepted as a duty; (2) the parents gave their property or will give their property to the oldest son, or gave him special advantages, and therefore he has an obligation which other children in the family need not feel; (3) the parents worked hard and sacrificed to give their children as good a start in life as possible and therefore feel they have a right to be taken care of in their old age.

> As far as I'm concerned, well, since I was brought up in the Japanese tradition of the oldest son taking care of the parents, I follow the same line. My folks are counting on me, so I can't let them down.

> But I still say, being the oldest, there's the responsibility of caring for my parents no matter how well off they are which I think is more of a duty; something that has to be done, because that's the Japanese style.

> My father didn't save; didn't set aside any funds like insurance. Instead he built this house on this land as sort of an investment. And he's going to give that to me. And I sort of have to take care of them. I'm obliged to.

> I wouldn't call wanting to help them out oya-on. I'm willing to because I appreciate all that they did for me. I'm the eldest and I know that they did a lot more for me. Japanese parents always do that. I take all of this as a matter of fact. I never have resented all this.

> I feel that my parents gave me everything possible and I'm thankful for the amount of education that they've given me. You know, times were hard when I was going to school and they really gave me everything. Being the only son, my parents gave

me all the education, neglecting my two sisters. It was sort of unfair for my sisters, I guess, but that's the Japanese form and they failed to see the importance of education for girls.

I think if every child grows up in a home, where the parents can give the love, care, and attention that I had, where you know you are wanted, then taking care of parents in old age is no problem. It's your early training, that makes you want to take care of them.

All my life, I've been impressed by the way my father and mother slaved. So that I feel they have the right to expect me to care for them, when my father retires and he can't work any longer.

I don't blame the older generation for expecting to be taken care of. After all the hard life they've been through, they have some right in imposing and making sure of impressing the oldest boy with the fact that he is supposed to take care of them when they become old.

You gotta understand, the way they work so hard to bring up the kids, so you can't blame them for expecting the kids to take care of them when they get old. Sure, it's impractical, but you can't blame them (the parents).

Much of the interview data show, however, that even though the obligation is recognized, there is widespread feeling that the situation is changing, particularly among younger Nisei since the war, and that there are mixed feelings among many eldest sons about their traditional duty in this area. Some of the feelings of uncertainty or conflict are indicated in a general way in the following comments:

The war made us more conscious of our traditions. Before the war, I never even questioned these things but now, since everything is westernized, it sometimes makes me wonder what we should do. Sometimes you want to please your parents and yet you don't think it's right.

I think that the war had plenty to do with changing a lot of the Japanese ways. A lot of the boys went to the Mainland and saw how the others live and maybe, whose ways appealed to them and they've come to question some of the things they used to do in an automatic way. When I was on the Mainland during the war I saw all the opportunities offered there. If I didn't have to think of my father, I'd take my family up there to live. There isn't very much of an opportunity to advance here. It's such a small place. I guess if the war did this to me, others must have changed in aspects like questioning the oya-on that parents drill you with.

Right now, even my mother is worrying (my father isn't as worried as my mother) who's going to take care of them, counting on me, but yet not so sure about me, after she hears from others, how the younger generation is not taking care of their parents.

In the beginning, I'd like to say that the conflicting situation is in the younger group--not my group. I feel that

within our age group--say past 50--there is a definite feeling. We're closer to the Isseis--to our parents--than perhaps those in your age level. Those in the 35 to 40 year groups have another viewpoint. In our group, and the way I feel, there is no question on the idea of taking care of parents in old age. That's an obligation that I've grown up with. That's something that has been stuck in my head. My parents didn't have to tell me to care for them. That was the understanding I've held all through.

You know if I wasn't the first son, I'd get out of this house and establish my own home. Yep, I strongly believe in this, because it's nothing like having your own home free from anybody else. Like me, I also have a sister living with us beside my father, and if I were a second son I wouldn't stay here. I'd let my brother take care, if I had an older brother. But since I'm the only son, I have taken the job upon myself.

Boy, you're not kidding about this oya-on. It sometimes makes you all mixed up. Lots of times I wanna do something but when I think of my parents, then I change my mind. We've been brought up with that thing so much that it's hard to say that it's wrong but it sure makes for a lot of confusion.

The factor of economic pressure involved in caring for parents was expressed by several of the informants.

If my folks need money I can't say no. I don't have too much but I can at least help them out that way. You sure have to have a lot of money to have two homes though.

There isn't any question, nowadays it's hard because everybody wants to keep up with the "Joneses" and yet assume the obligation he has. The standard of living is high and it's hard to save.

I think the Issei expecting the kids to take care of them, whether it's good or bad depends I think on how well off the parents are. I mean how much they gotta depend on the oldest son, and on how much the son is making, whether he can support his own wife and kids and his parents. If the parents going pull him down, then 'as bad.

You should feel kind of obligated to your parents but sometimes it's not practical. After all, if your income isn't too much you just got to worry for yourself so then you have to put aside this feeling of obligation. Parents should be more understanding anyway.

A rather crucial area, and one in which feelings appeared to be strongly expressed by most of the informants, has to do with the relations between the eldest son's parent or parents and his wife. In the traditional family structure, of course, the bride of the eldest son realized that she would live in her husband's home under the authority of her father-in-law and mother-in-law and that it was her duty to adjust to that situation. In the case of most of the white-collar workers interviewed, the eldest son has climbed socio-economically to a point where he does not wish to live in the type of house which his parents occupy or to live under the authority of his own father. Consequently, a separate household is es-

tablished, if at all possible, and the wife runs this household free from domination by her husband's mother. Years later the issue arises of the husband's parents moving into their son's home. By this time the situation is likely to be one in which friction results unless the parents are willing to "fit into" the son's home rather than vice versa. Some eldest sons anticipate the problems surrounding this and try to reach some agreement on it with the wife.

> I am the first son so there was no conflict in caring for my parents. After all they did take care of me when I wasn't able to foot for myself. I naturally accepted the fact that I was to care for my parents and it never occurred to me that I should do otherwise. Before I got married, I explained everything to my wife and she never complained. These things have to be discussed before marriage because it's really important that your wife accepts your parents.

> About marriage success and having my parents live with me, I talked with my wife before we built this house. We discussed about it, and she knows that I'm going to take care of them. And so I think she feels the same way as I do.

Others, however, see the issue as one which contains the seeds of much conflict and unhappiness.

> It's all up to the wife. If she can get along, then the husbands don't mind in-laws. Husbands don't stay at home all day but wives do. So it all depends on how strong the man is. It's good if you can control the wife. If the man wants to live with his parents, it's up to him to make his wife understand.

> That depends upon the wife and how well she can get along with the in-laws. It doesn't matter too much with the man. Of course it would be ideal if you could live alone but in many cases it doesn't work that way. Along this line, I've heard of a boy on the Mainland, in fact I know him, who refuses to come back to the islands because although he is the oldest son he refuses to take care of his parents. His wife doesn't get along with his family and in order to keep her happy he stays up there.

> Take my case; I'm married, I've got my own family. I know that when my parents come to live with us, there's bound to be trouble sooner or later. You know the age differences and the different idea. For instance, my wife may cook one way and my mother insists the okazu (subsidiary articles of diet) is cooked in only one way. Well, from things like that, trouble starts. So when my parents live with me, they have to put up and not squawk about how my wife cooks, how we think. They're coming into our house, so they just have to put up with our ways of living. That's how I think we can manage to all live under one roof, and me taking care of my parents.

One informant indicated that he had resolved the dilemma by preparing a place in the basement of his house in which his parents could live.

> Like me, I knew I was going to take care of my folks, so I built this house with a basement, so they can live with us. They'll eat with us, play with the grandchildren, but yet they have some privacy downstairs in the bedrooms. Right planning! That's it.

Some go further and admit that if a choice must be made, the welfare of their own immediate family comes before that of their parents.

> There's no such thing as taking care of aged parents in the sense as the old folks used to. You just don't do it nowadays. You have to think of your own skin and family.

> If I had to choose between my own family and my parents, then I would think about my own family first. After all, you don't live with your parents for a long time but you have to live with your wife for the rest of your life.

A few of the interviewees mentioned some of the "social" complications involved in having Issei in the home but these were regarded as "minor in the long run." There was almost universal verbal rejection of the idea that they would be ashamed to have their parents living with them.

> If my wife and I entertain, my mother can't sleep and these old people should get plenty of sleep. Another thing, I don't think that my mother would be interested in my friends--I mean, our language and thoughts are different from hers. Usually she keeps away when we're entertaining.

> In my case my parents have not bothered in my social life. When I have visitors, they don't come out into the living room. They leave me alone. When they have company it's the same thing--I usually don't bother. When my son and his wife have visitors, I don't bother them either. You see, what they talk about wouldn't interest me. Sure, I understand what they say but it's no fun listening to their conversation. My parents feel the same way with my wife's and my company. They can't understand English so it's entirely foreign for them. It's sort of an unwritten code that we don't bother with each other's company. If my friends want to meet my parents, I usually introduce them and they retire. They are no burden when entertaining. (Interviewer's note: Although this interviewee has given a Utopian form of living, it was found that he had had some trouble with his parents in social entertainment.)

> No, I don't think that even if I do get married and keep on living with my parents, they'd be of any social burden. Gee, that's same as saying that you were ashamed of your parents. Besides, when we're going out and if there are any children, my mother would make a good sitter.

> If for any reason, that there are some Niseis who might not want to care for their parents because they are hazukashi (ashamed) of their parents, I think, gee, that's going too far. It's darn shame and a weak excuse. After all, it's just like saying your parents aren't good enough for you.

One of the "minor" complications in the situation where Issei

parents are living with their more Americanized children is the use of pidgin English by the elderly parents in talking to the grandchildren.

> I consider this a real handicap because I'm trying to keep my child from picking up pidgin English. It's a real problem because you can't very well tell your father not to talk to your child.

> This is something hard to say because you can't very well tell your parents not to speak or play with their grandchildren. The only kind of language they know besides Japanese is the kind they pick up at work and dealing with other people. Sure if it was at all possible I'd rather have them (children) free from pidgin English. I guess this is really a problem for the Nisei.

> Well, this is something that can't be helped. In my case, I have resigned myself to the situation. My wife and I try our best to teach our child English. As far as my mother goes, what can you do about it?

The most favored solution to some of these problems of providing a home for aged parents was that of arranging for the parents to live separately from the eldest son's family as long as they are physically able to take care of themselves and to provide as much financial aid as needed or can be afforded. This solution, of course, represents quite a departure from the traditional pattern and indicates a desire to reach a compromise between the obligation to care for the parents and to enjoy as much freedom from them as possible. The American ideal of living apart from one's in-laws is definitely preferred if it can possibly be arranged.

> I believe that living apart from my parents is ideal. I would like to do this as long as possible--as I am living now--maintaining separate households. As I've said before, I wouldn't mind having them in my house but I'll try to live separately as long as possible. You know how humans are, even if you're a good person, have "ups and downs." You might feel good one day but your parents aren't "in the mood" and you're bound to have quarrels. That's why I feel that it's good to live separately.

> It's better if married people lived separately (from parents) but sometimes it's hard. Of course, you wouldn't have a lot of the trouble that the married people nowadays have about their in-laws. My married friends always talk about it. I think that if you can, you should. Why ask for trouble?

> Lots of my friends live separately. If I had my choice, and if my parents were still young I would, too.

> Living apart from in-laws is the ideal situation--but it all depends on the circumstances. Housing, as it is now, is impossible to get at a reasonable sum. The only place a young married couple can stay and save is with the parents.

> You know they say there's nothing like two wahines that don't get along. So when I get married, I'm going to live apart from my folks. But I'm going to support them sure.

> But they're going to live separately. That's why I'm going to take care of them. But I have to earn enough to support them living separately from my wife and me, so I rather wait about getting married, until I can have enough money to do what I want to do. You know when you get married, you get married to everybody connected with the girl, so that if I get married and my folks live apart from us, the relationship is going to be much better. Whereas if my folks lived with me, I know there's going to be trouble. If my folks lived at another house, we can call up my mother for baby-sittings sometimes, we can visit each other. But if they lived with us, there's going to be "in-law" pilikia.

Even though most of the interviewees accepted the obligation of caring for their parents, willingly or unwillingly, change in the traditional Japanese pattern, under the impact of American conditions, is indicated by the feeling expressed by many of the interviewees that Japanese fathers should not think of retiring when they reach the age of sixty. This feeling, and some of the justifications given for it, are indicated in the following comments.

> As far as the Japanese idea, that the Issei have in expecting to retire after they reach the age of 60, then I would say that it is a wrong idea, if they can still work and make a living.

> The Issei nowadays are getting modern too. Most of them work longer than they used to. My father hasn't mentioned retiring yet. I think that they feel that they sould get along by themselves as long as they can. I think that's the way it should be. If you're rich it's different.

> I don't think that anyone should live a life of leisure on the expense of someone else. Like in my case, my father has a bee farm. During the season, I help him, but he has to be on the go, too. I don't believe in this thing where the son works and the parents loaf around. Everybody works as far as I'm concerned. A lot of the old folks nowadays complain about this and that ailment without actual basis. I feel that they should work as long as possible.

> If it's not physically hard on them, they should work. It helps them keep young. Even if they stay home, they won't have anything to do. Anything, even if it's janitor work is okay. Helps them out with their own spending money too.

Another indication of the changing attitude of eldest sons is found in the feeling on the part of the majority of them that the responsibility of the cho-nan should be shared by younger siblings. But they differ greatly in their phrasing of this change in their outlook. A few say they would welcome help but would not demand it. Some feel they should not hesitate to ask other children to help if they find themselves pressed financially. Others regard it unfair for the eldest son to have to shoulder the entire responsiblity. Nevertheless, several take the view that one's sisters should not become involved in caring for one's parents since in traditional Japanese families the daughters who marry "leave" the family; for the same reasons these eldest sons reject the idea of assuming responsibility for one's wife's parents. Others, however, have adopted the Western view that daughters as well as sons should be expected to participate in the

actual care of their aged parents, their respective contributions varying perhaps according to the relative capabilities of the various "children's families" or of unmarried siblings at the time the need for care of parents becomes acute. Most of the viewpoints are illustrated in the following comments:

> But if anything should go wrong, then I'd ask my brother to help me out. But mind you, I said I'll ask, not tell them to help me out, if they were financially able to.

> Taking care of parents in old age is no question. There is an obligation that everyone must fulfill. If the first son is having some financial difficulty, there shouldn't be any question--the second or third son should gladly share the responsibility. Oya-on should never be forgotten.

> I think even if I'm the oldest son, and the Japanese style is for me to take care and house my parents, I should like, and in fact would demand, that they all pitch in and help with the expenses (of supporting my parents). We should all put in so much a month; that will be fair and square and I won't have to worry too much about going in the "hole."

> Right now I'm the oldest, and I don't want to get the property when my father dies. But that's the Japanese style so you can't help it. But I want instead to share all the property equally with my sisters and brothers. That's why I expect them to help out to take care of my father and mother.

> As far as I'm concerned, I'm the eldest. I've known for a long time that I'm the one responsible for my parents so I don't expect my kid brother and sisters to help out. In my family, there's only one more boy. I have four sisters. Most of them are married. And I don't expect especially my sisters to help, after all they're married and more or less are out of the family. Same thing if my wife had to help out with her side, I would put my foot down, because I consider her "out" of her family. I think it's none of her business. That's why I don't think it would really be fair for me to expect the others to help.

> If my brothers and sisters can afford to, I'm going to want them to at least pitch in. The old lady can live in my house, but they should all give some money--even if I'm the eldest son.

> Right now, my mother lives in this arrangement. She makes a tour of my brothers' and sister's homes. And she comes and goes whenever she feels like it. There isn't a set arrangement as to how long she'll stay at my brother's house, and so many months at my other brother's, and so many months with my sister. That way I don't think that she feels "unwanted" like being pushed around. You know many folks think that way--of having the feeling that the children don't want the parents around, so they have them commuting from here and there.

The majority of these eldest sons feel that sending their parents to institutions for the care of the aged, such as Kuakini Home or Maluhia

Hospital, would be a shameful thing to do. Such an act would be interpreted by the community, they believe, as evidence of their unwillingness to care for their parents. A few were willing to say that if the financial burden of caring for invalid or bed-ridden parents became too heavy and relief was not forthcoming from other relatives, they would consider sending their parents to Maluhia Hospital in order to assure the parents professional medical service that they would not be able to provide them in their own homes. However, the old men's home operated by Kuakini Hospital was regarded as "charity" and only one informant showed any inclination to give it any consideration.

> I can't see anyone putting his own father or mother in Kuakini Old Men's Home. I owe my parents too much to put myself or them into shame. If I put my folks in there, I don't think I can face my friends or tokoronomono (people from the same prefecture); even if I weren't financially capable. How shame!

> Sending your parents to Kuakini and places like that is just like charity. It's the last straw, when they go up there. If they (children) do that, the rest of the people going start talking, and baka ni suru (make a fool of you). And you know how the old folks think. Them different from the Nisei. When they go up there (Kuakini) they feel just like they're urusai (annoying); just like rubbish and so most old folks when they go up there rather die than live, they die earlier up there.

> I'd consider this, if it comes to a point where professional services are needed. I'd put my parents into Maluhia. But only if it is desperately necessary. As long as my wife and I can take care, I'd keep my parents home. After all they need the loving more than anything else.

> As far as putting old folks in Kuakini that again depends on the parents. Some people enjoy it out there; you know, living among their own kind. Like I know my father will have to stay home alone, since my wife and I work. Maybe he might enjoy the company out there. If he wants to go, I have no objection to sending him there.

Finally, it is interesting to note that even though these eldest sons do not blame their parents or regard them as selfish for expecting to be taken care of in their old age, most of them are firmly in agreement that they will certainly not expect their own eldest sons or any of their children, for that matter, to be "saddled" with the financial burden of caring for them in their own declining years. They expect that social security, annuities, insurance, and other programs which they are working out will be adequate to provide financial security for their wives and themselves. The theme seems to be that Issei, reared as they were in the ways of the old country, are justified in holding the expectations that they do. Nisei, on the other hand, live in a land of individualism backed now by a national social security program rather than depending on a system of family security. Nisei should plan ahead for their own old age within the framework of contemporary western culture.

> Oya-on and stuff like that is part of the old country, from which most of our parents came; therefore, I think it's a natural attitude for the older generation to take. I won't

say it's a wrong attitude. But when my children grow up and I get old, I won't expect my kids to take care of me. That's the difference between my parents and me. I can understand why they have such things as oya-on because they don't have the education and weren't capable to save any money, any nest-egg to use when they became old. But I'll know better. Even though I approve oya-on among my parents, it would be a different story, if the children now--as parents later--expect to be taken care of.

As far as the older generation is concerned, I think the oya-on attitude is all right for them to take, since that's part of the Japanese culture of Japan. But though I take this attitude, I wouldn't, at least, I hope I won't, have to depend on my kids to support me when I get old--that is, as a parent. As a parent, our generation should be prepared to have some investment like accumulation of bonds; then there's social security payments, insurance. We should be prepared for old age, so that we won't be a burden, financially, to our kids.

In summary, the opinions expressed by these Nisei eldest sons indicate that almost all of them were willing to accept the responsibility of caring for their parents but in many cases the traditional pattern for carrying out this responsibility is changing. The trend seems to be in the direction of practices which are common in middle class American families. This is particularly true with regard to the preference for providing a place for the aged parents to live separately from the children and to think that other siblings should share with the eldest son some of the financial burden. Perhaps the clearest indication of the impact of American culture upon the Nisei is the fact that while they are willing to respect the traditional obligation as far as their parents are concerned, they do not expect their own children to feel a similar obligation toward them and are making provisions for their own independence in their old age.

JAPANESE FUNERAL PRACTICES IN PAHOA

Sueko H. Kimura

A funeral among the Japanese in Pahoa[1] is an occasion when the entire Japanese community of about 130 to 140 families send representatives who congregate to pay their last respects to the deceased. The methodical, organizational talents of this ethnic group may be observed in full glory, for no aspect is left unplanned. Every detail of the arrangements is attended to by friends and neighbors in the kumiai.[2] Such a gathering often has overtones of a social gathering, for much gossip is commonly exchanged.

The Japanese community in Pahoa was long ago divided into seven sections, or kumiai one of whose purposes is to provide immediate help in times of need. A funeral is one of those occasions when the neighborhood "kumiai" members gather to supply physical help and take charge of most of the necessary arrangements. They thus leave the immediate family free to mourn and accept condolences, and to recognize the people attending the funeral.

Although at present there is only one kumiai that is fully organized with officers and regular meetings, the system is still in effect in spirit. Sections of the town are referred to by their old kumiai-designated names, and whenever a canvassing of the town is necessary, committees are appointed according to these sections. Although unorganized, the other sections still gather in kumiai groupings to help and take charge of the work.

On the night when death occurs, close friends and kumiai members conduct a meeting at which the sōmu (general chairman) is elected or appointed by all present. The sōmu takes full charge of all the arrangements, and duties are delegated to different people. Committees are appointed to decide on the variety of foods to be served, the purchasing (which is done in such a way that every store is equally patronized), and the borrowing and returning of all cooking and serving utensils. A speech-making committee decides on the number and kind of speeches to be delivered, and by whom. The chōba takes charge of all the floral and monetary gifts presented to the family. There must be at least two present whenever the envelopes are opened and each item is recorded in both Japanese and in English. The chōba sees that the priest is properly recompensed for his services, and that all funeral expenses are paid for on the day of the funeral. This custom of making all payments on the same day is strictly adhered to in Pahoa. In other localities this is not so meticulously observed. A transportation committee provides a car for transporting the immediate family to and from the crematory or burial grounds, and arranges for a police escort for the funeral procession. The selection of a coffin is also made by a committee which may include one member of the family. However, the family itself usually determines the approximate amount to be spent on the coffin.

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[1] Pahoa, Hawaii is a little plantation village on the flank of Kilauea on the island of Hawaii, whose population is predominantly Japanese. The Filipino and Hawaiian people are the other two important racial strains represented in Pahoa.

[2] A neighborhood group of Japanese households for purposes of mutual aid and assistance.

Gifts of flower or money, frequently both, are presented to the deceased--not to the living members. The custom of okōden (presenting money in envelopes) stems from a practical and kindly motive. The Japanese people are earthy in their outlook, and accept the high cost of funerals as an ever-existent reality. This system is really a pooling of funds to help defray funeral expenses. The usual courtesy gift is about two or three dollars. There is no set limit, and amounts enclosed presumably reveal the esteem in which the deceased or his family is held by the giver, or the degree to which the giver is obligated to the family. Any one presenting a monetary gift knows that in case of death in his own family, at least the same amount will be reciprocated. People of other racial groups are not expected to present monetary gifts, but frequently do.

The okōden system has proven to be one of the most desirable and practical features of the Japanese funeral customs, and is generally approved by the younger generation. Thus, any Japanese family, no matter how impoverished they may be, have the security of knowing that the loss of a loved one, though leaving them emotionally bereaved, will not cause any financial difficulties. If in rare occasions receipts do not cover the expenses involved, the difference is minimal.

The Hawaiian and Filipino people in Pahoa have adopted the okōden system. Recognizing the practicality of this custom, they frankly and openly take part in the system, not only when they attend a Japanese funeral, but also within their own group in time of bereavement.

In urban areas like Hilo where changes occur at a more rapid rate, several active kumiai have survived, and members of other ethnic groups who wish to join have been accepted into the organizations. These gaijin (non-Japanese) in the kumiai attend all meetings and outings, pay their dues, and help at all funerals, along with the Japanese. In years past, the practice of sacrificing a day of work to help at a funeral has caused hardship on families. Where very close friends are involved, men and women still absent themselves from work to assist at a funeral. Gradually, however, people are disposed to help at funerals after their own livelihood has been provided for first.

As soon as a death occurs in a family, the closest friends and neighbors are notified. These neighbors in turn notify every family within the kumiai, and the rest of the community received word rapidly through the grapevine.

Each family in the kumiai may be represented by some adult, either the head of the household, or the wife, whichever is most convenient. Such service may be given for a few hours after work, or for as much as two whole days--the day of the death, and the day of the funeral. Each woman usually takes along her own knife and apron, and a new member of the community soon gets to know all the community people very well. Over the kitchen tables and the cooking pots, the latest news is thoroughly discussed.

After word of death has been received, close friends or kumiai members begin cleaning the house to get it ready for the return of the body. The family shrine is readied. When the body returns from the mortuary, it is placed before the family shrine with the head on the left as you face the shrine. The family sit close by on one side, and receive condolences from mourning guests. The guests, however, first honor the deceased by performing a ritual called oshōkō (taking a pinch of

incense between thumb and forefinger, and dropping it into another urn), and offering a prayer for the happiness and well-being of the deceased in his after-life.

The oshōkō and its accompanying rites are said to have undergone some changes due to a lack of understanding of the significance of the ritual. At present, guests usually clasp their hands with ojuzu (Buddhist rosary) to pray, light senkō (incense), and then they may or may not drop a pinch of incense, only to clasp their hands to pray again. According to classical Buddhist custom, however, the act of oshōkō symbolizes the purification of the praying person's soul, and should be performed before the hands are clasped. The idea is that one should not offer one's prayers until he has purified himself first.

After having paid one's respects to the deceased, a guest turns to bow to the family and expresses the conventional words of sympathy. The phrase, "Okino doku deshita ne!" (meaning in this case, "I'm so deeply sorry") is the somewhat stereotyped expression used. After all, there really isn't much one can say to a grieving family to ease the pain of their loss.

There may be others present, so the guest next turns to bow to all the others with a few all-inclusive bows, and goes out to give others a chance to go in and pay their respects.

Christians of Japanese ancestry often observe oshōkō in deference to the religion of the deceased, as long as their own religion does not specifically forbid it. Christians whose own beliefs forbid it are not expected to partake in the ritual. In such cases, a bow towards the body of the deceased, a bow and words of condolence to the family, and another bow to the other guests, is considered sufficient.

After the priest's arrival, the makura kyō (service at the pillow) is the first service held over the body, usually in the home.

If the funeral is held on the day following the death, as is frequently the case, the family and friends take part in the yotogi (wake service) to keep the deceased company. The origin of this service is said to have been the necessity of keeping animals away from the body. Now, friends and family take turns to stay awake and keep the candles burning at all times to ward off the evil spirits. Coffee and tea are served.

At times, when death occurs early in the morning and all members of the family are present, the funeral is held on the same day. Certain days are believed to be undesirable or "bad-luck" for funerals. Tomobiki or the pulling of friends to go along in death, is supposed to be stronger on some days. This is a superstition that is not accepted by the Shinshu sect of Buddhists.

The question of cremation or burial is frequently settled by request before the death occurs. In case of cremation, the ashes are kept at home for forty-nine days, then taken to the temple to be tended by the priest. Some families prefer to keep the ashes as long as two years (when a third year service is held, for according to the Japanese system of counting, the year of death is counted as one year), then take the ashes to their temple, or occasionally to a temple in Japan. The priest keeps close account of dates, and gives a reminder whenever the hinichi (annual date of death) service is due. To compensate for care of the ashes and prayers

to the deceased, an offering is presented to the temple at each hinichi and at each bon service held annually in July.

The farewell feast in honor of the deceased, served at the home on the day of the funeral just prior to departure for the cemetery or mortuary, has been prepared by friends and neighbors of the family. Strict rules are observed in the preparation of a funeral feast. Among them is the custom called shojin which specifies that all the food must be derived from plants and that nothing of animal or fish origin may be eaten at a funeral. Thus, a typical funeral meal consists of tōfu (bean curd), shiraae (pressed tofu and vegetable), kurome (sea weed), nishime (combination of vegetables with mushrooms for flavor), namasu (pickled vegetable, often cucumber), rice, and boiled vegetables.

Although rice balls are usually made triangular at ordinary times, they must be made round at a funeral (and at sumō or wrestling festivals). Platters of foods called mori-mono usually consist of an odd number of items at weddings and other happier occasions, but at a funeral, there must be an even number of items on each platter, usually about six items. There must also be an even number of varieties of dishes on the table. These two customs seem to be a purely Hawaiian Japanese tradition, and apparently have no basis in Buddhist doctrine, for a Shinshu priest claims that he had never heard of these practices prior to his arrival in Hawaii.

Shōjin, refers to the conduct expected of the bereaved--a way of life that is calm, discreet, and conservative. One should be thinking of the beloved deceased while practicing shōjin and leading a quiet life without parties, or other diversions. The avoidance of eating the flesh of animals or fish origin is just one aspect of shōjin, which at an earlier time was conscientiously observed by the immediate family till after the 49th day service. Members of the first generation are still known to practice this custom, but gradually, the period of shōjin has been shortened, supposedly because of the change of food habits, and the hardships imposed on the younger generation by a radical change in diet. Some people may still observe it as long as the 35th day service (held in place of the 49th day service), but more frequently, shōjin is now observed during the first seven days, called hito nanuka, when a service is held to "lift the ban." In cases where members of the family have travelled long distances to be at a funeral, the practice of shōjin would cause exceptional hardship on those who must return immediately to their own homes. In such cases, families have been known to request a service within a day or two after the funeral to end the observance of shōjin.

The spirit of the deceased is thought to be present in or around the house for a period of time after death. Thus, some member of the family must remain home for that period to keep candles burning continuously. If death occurs during the latter part of the month, a 35th day service is held in lieu of the usual 49th. For example, if death occured on October 22, the 49th day would fall, not in November (counted as the second month), but on December 9, the third (uneven) month, and therefore undesirable. Thus, a 35th day service would be held instead on November 25.

The supposed undesirability of the third month seems to be another purely local custom or superstition, and is not supported by Shinshu priests, who maintain that 49 days is the only proper length of time to observe shōjin. There is speculation as to the origin of this belief. Third month in Japanese is mi tsuki (mi, third; tsuki, month). The verbalization of mitsuki, when symbolized calligraphically with different word symbols, could have

an entirely different meaning: namely, mi could mean body, and tsuki (abbreviation of verb tsukiru) could mean a dissolving-into-nothingness. Thus, the third month may have been considered objectionable because of its double meaning.

On the observance of the 35th day service, a token of appreciation is returned to all those who has presented the family with flowers or okōden. In years past, tea or coffee was the usual gift of reciprocation, but now, a package of sugar is usually returned, with appropriate words printed in Japanese on a small sheet and pasted on the package.

A hundredth day service is held next, and after that yearly services are held on the hinichi (date of death) to honor the deceased. Special, more elaborate services are held on various anniversaries, such as the third, seventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-fifth, thirty-third, and fiftieth years. After the fiftieth year service, these services are discontinued, as it is assumed that no living member of the family would have known the deceased intimately. Traditionally, at the 25th year service, meat and fish may be served for the first time, but locally, practices have been eased to such an extent that sometimes meat is served at the third year serive. In such an instance, guests may partake of these foods, but family service observe shōjin for the day.

The hatsu-bon (first bon after a death) has for years been elaborately observed. Friends traditionally sent chōchin (lanterns) as gifts and attended a bon service at the home a few days or a week before the community service was held. At present, the custom is for the priest to offer a service at the cemetery, after which he visits the homes of all those observing hatsu-bon. Then people congregate for the bon service at the community hall. (There is no Buddhist temple in Pahoa.) This religious ceremony is held on a separate night from the more festive bon-dancing. The presentation of chōchin is also undergoing a change. Due to financial hardship caused by such continued reciprocal customs, the recipients feel so okino doku na (a high degree of obligatory feeling), that okotowari messages are frequently printed in the papers during bon season asking friends to refrain from sending chōchin.

Most families have a shinden (shrine) for kamisama (Shinto deity) besides an obutsudan (small Buddhist shrine) in their homes. When a death occurs, the kamisama is covered, for according to the basic Buddhist religion, the dead person is believed to become a Hotoke-sama (Buddha).

A Buddhist, as a living being, has an earthly name. Upon his death he is given a new name for his after-life, which is written on a piece of wood. It is placed in the family Buddhist shrine to be forever after honored by his earthly descendants. If the family moves, the oihai is taken along. Flowers and rice are offered daily so that the deceased will not go hungry.

There are the customs, traditions, and superstitions that are more or less familiar to my people. They first clung to these customs because they were in a strange land far from their homeland, the locale of a heritage centuries old, which had always given them security. Among strange people with strange ways, they derived a feeling of unity by continuing to observe their own traditions.

However, assimilation into another culture brought gradual, but perceptible changes. The passing of years, and the unfamiliarity of the parent tongue will no doubt result in further changes. But these rituals steeped in tradition will not soon be forgotten, for they concern one of the two most important phases of life, birth and death.

CHANGING RITUALS IN CHINESE BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Anonymous

Although I belong to a fourth generation family of the Chinese-Hawaiian ethnic mixture, I can still recall vividly the old customs, traditions, and rituals of folk China as transplanted here to Hawaii. However, within the past twenty years or so, I have also witnessed great changes regarding rituals connected with births and deaths.

Since I am the third oldest in a family of nine children, I can remember the days when my younger brothers and sisters were taken to the Hau Wong* Temple on upper Fort Street on their 'Month-Old-Day' (Gau Yuet). Before leaving for the temple, a venerable woman friend of the family (with tiny bound feet) would rub liquor on the tender head of the month-old baby and proceed with utmost caution to shave the head with a barber's razor. If the baby were a boy she would shave all the hair except a solid round halo-like patch the size of a silver dollar in the middle of the head while in the case of a girl two smaller patches on each side of the back portion of the top of the head were left. (These styles are known as no sun gai and na ja gai respectively.) Then a very elaborate red silk band decorated with gold charms of an old Santa Claus-like man with a peach (Sau Sing Lo Yeh) in the middle flanked by the Eight Immortals (Bat Dai Sin) was carefully placed about the head.

My grandparents would take a very sumptuous feast suitable for the gods to the temple. This included a whole roast pig complete from head to tail (the tail was even garnished with a fringed piece of red paper for good luck), two high pyramids of buns (tong bau), one colored red and the other white. Wine, tea, rice, eggs dyed a cerise red, ginger with sesame seeds etc. completed the lavish foods. After giving thanks for the safe delivery of the baby, we would take all the food home and really have a banquet. The pig would be neatly sliced, and then wrapped and distributed along with eggs, buns, ginger to relatives and friends who had presented gifts to the baby.

Since World War II, I have noticed some marked changes. Nowadays, because most of the Chinese belong to Christian churches of various sects, they neither go to the temple nor shave the heads but they still adhere to the custom of distributing pork, etc. They no longer order a whole pig but have the Chinese grocery store package it individually with the accompanying delicacies. Some may even delay this till the baby is a year old.

Inasmuch as death is nothing but birth into the next world in the eyes of the Chinese, I shall attempt to describe portions of my grandfather's funeral. Because he died before World War II, he had a genuine full length traditional Chinese funeral service which lasted from 7:30 p.m. on Saturday until the actual burial at about 3:00 p.m. on Sunday. Within this span of time some ceremony was constantly going on and no one was allowed to sleep. Because my grandfather was of the middle class, he had only three Taoist priests instead of the usual five had he been rich. The entire funeral was divided into ten parts (sap nim).

*All Chinese words have been Romanized to approximate the pronounciation in the Cantonese dialect.

Before I proceed to describe some of the many complicated rituals, I believe a physical description is in order. The casket was placed in the middle of the funeral parlor with the feet facing the viewer as he entered and paid his respects by kow-towing and slowly walking around the casket. At this end were neatly arranged bowls of rice, wine, tea, etc. and a paper model of a mountain of gold (gam shan) and another of silver (ngaan shan) on either side accompanied with a slave boy with a towel and pipe for tobacco (lai jai) symmetrically arranged.

On the right side seated on straw mats were the male relatives in sack cloth robes and white sashes tied about their foreheads and waists. The female blood relatives were dressed similarly except that they wore white hoods while the daughters-in-law wore checkered blue and white ones. Their hair was disheveled and void of jewelry and their faces without make-up. My grandmother was not allowed to attend except for brief periods as she would wail so hysterically, almost beyond control. The old woman in charge would encourage the women folk to mourn and wail in a classical poetic sing-song fashion each time a visitor came. Since some of my aunts were quite Westernized, they refused to do so and were obliged to pay her to do it for them.

One of the ten ceremonies was the 'keeping the body company' (chan si) which occurred at about two o'clock in the morning. Each of us was provided with a white candle and holder in our left hands and we formed a train with the males first according to the degree of kinship followed by the females. The Taoist priest led us in making what seemed like a hundred rounds. Upon the completion of each round at the foot of the casket, we would be given paper money in various forms and sizes to burn with the lighted candles. Meanwhile, the Taoist priests would be blowing the shrill trumpets, beating the gongs and cymbals and tinkling the brass bell continuously.

When the casket was finally covered prior to leaving for burial, the women would practically scream their heads off. I remember we marched in the middle of the road for a couple of blocks before boarding the automobiles. Each woman would be shaded by a black umbrella and supported by an older woman friend dressed in complete black.

Nowadays the ten ceremonies have been shortened considerably and are completed in about three or four hours. In many cases, the services are a combination of Christian-Taoist. All traces of a Taoist funeral would be hidden and a Christian minister would come and conduct his services. Nevertheless, upon his departure the Taoist priests would bring out all the paraphernalia and resume as though nothing had happened. This is usually the case when a Christian man dies but his widow is still traditionally Chinese. She would not deny him his desired services yet she wants to be sure he gets to heaven. This according to her own beliefs requires the ten ceremonies. The family may now sit in chairs instead of mats and wailing is pretty much out of fashion, much to the regret of the few remaining first generation immigrants.

After the funeral everyone would return to the home of the deceased and have a simple 'cold dinner' (do pun or dung jau). At the completion of the simple meal, each would take his bowl and chopsticks home. Today instead of porcelain bowls and bamboo chopsticks, people have substituted paper poi bowls and Japanese packaged wooden saimin chopsticks. Close relatives would be given a black and white lantern to light their way home. This has been replaced with flashlights.

All in all these funeral customs have their psychological value as they afford everyone a chance openly to express his grief and sorrow.

In spite of the fact that I am a fourth generation Chinese-Hawaiian, my ties with the ancient folk customs and traditions of China are so strong, I can't avoid them completely. Unless my parents are converted to the Christian faith before their deaths, I will probably be obligated to carry on a modified form of the services described above as I am the eldest son. However, I am sure that it will end with my generation because most of my brothers and sisters are Christian by faith.

HAWAIIAN FUNERAL

Darrow L. Aiona

This paper describes briefly the funeral practices of the members of the XYZ Church, consisting predominantly of Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians, drawn chiefly from the ranks of the lower classes. The members of this Hawaiian Church have broken away from the mother church--Ka Makua Mau Loa Church (Church of the Living God)--located on Mokauea Street in Kalihi. XYZ Church is only one of several independent churches formed by dissident members of the mother church, which, in turn, probably broke away from the earlier Congregational Church in Hawaii. This particular church can perhaps best be conceived as a nativistic religious movement of the cult-sect variety.

One of the basic assumptions of this paper is that the funeral practices of the church not only provide a gathering of the group to meet a specific crisis of some of the members, but also serve to meet a deeper and chronic crisis of the Hawaiians, pertaining to their ethnic unity.

Three mortuaries in Honolulu have handled the funeral arrangements for this group, over a considerable period of time. The one enjoying the greatest prestige at present derived this position from having conducted the funeral of their leader and pastor in a manner that was especially satisfactory to most of the members. Then too, this particular mortuary had at that time a plan for easy payment of the funeral costs, prior to the now existing Purple Shield Plan fostered by most of the city's mortuaries.

For the lower income families of this church, the financial burden of a funeral is quite considerable and it is partially eased by the contributions made by Church members and various of its organizations such as the Makuahines (Mothers' Club), the Makuakanes (Fathers' Club), and the Opios (Young People). These organizations contribute as a loving and helping gesture. Besides the monetary gifts, members usually donate coffee, sugar, cream, rolls, and sandwiches to be served at the mortuary when the body lies in state.

A wake, being a local custom among Honolulu's multi-racial population, is usually held the night before the actual funeral. At the funeral parlor, the inexpensive casket lies in a central position in the front of the mortuary chapel. The deceased is clothed in his best suit or her best dress. There are very few floral offerings because the members feel that the family can make more use of the actual cash. What flower offerings there are, come from family and friends who are not members of the Church. Members almost always string leis from melia, pikake, or ilima blossoms and drape them on the casket as their floral tribute. At many Christian funerals there is a cross just behind the casket with candles burning around the bier. However, the cross is excluded at the funerals of XYZ Church members who are Protestant and extremely anti-Catholic. Any manner or form of symbolic religious objects or gestures are not tolerated because they connote the outward forms of Catholicism. To them, any religious object is a statue and an idol, and God forbids the use of idols for worship.

Most of the callers who come to pay their respects to the deceased are Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians with a scattering of other ethnic groups. Most of the church members attend the funeral since they are a small closely knit, homogeneous group. The immediate family members dress either in white or black. They sit alongside the casket greeting friends

who come to pay their respects. Each person approaches and passes before the casket, many times breaking into a sob or loud wail, and then expresses his sympathies and condolences to the family members gathered around the casket, by either shaking their hands or embracing them. Particularly the elderly women greet a person with an embrace and a kiss. This form of greeting is very common among Hawaiians. Often, relatives and friends will lean over the casket to kiss the deceased person. To the Hawaiians, a kiss and an embrace are the most intimate ways of expressing love and respect.

The attire worn by distant relatives and friends is an unusual sight for a funeral especially when one is accustomed to the more conventional garb of either black or white. People enter the mortuary chapel wearing ordinary street clothes. The men just wear a sport or aloha shirt ranging from a dark to a very bright-colored one. Many women wear muumuus to the funeral. However, the elderly women often wear their old-fashioned holokus. A few women may come in slacks. Men and women even come wearing slippers. The overt expression of respect in wearing proper funeral attire is dissimilar to the Orientals and other ethnic groups. The Hawaiian expresses his emotions more concretely--the mere fact of being present at the funeral, seeing the family, and crying.

The general atmosphere of the mortuary is a grand mixture of sorrow, happiness, crying, laughter, and general conversation. Within the chapel itself, the people behave in a sombre, devout manner except for the mutterings of those greeting friends whom they haven't seen for a long time. Only the immediate family maintain the sad and sombre vigil throughout the funeral. In the corridors, people are having a social hour--joking, arguing, laughing, there is almost a gay spirit. The church members always serve coffee, rolls, and sandwiches in the mortuary kitchen for those attending the funeral. The general atmosphere in the kitchen is like a college snack bar. Little children are running in and out of the kitchen and chapel and up and down the corridors. The general atmosphere of the funeral gathering is like a 4th of July picnic.

The funeral service is always held in the mortuary chapel prior to burial and a church funeral is taboo. All who have come to the mortuary crowd into the chapel in a solemn reverent mood. Laughing and joking stops and a hushed silence comes over the place. All gather to join in worship.

The service is conducted by the pastor of the church, who has been appointed by God through messages related by dreams, and other natural signs. The minister wears a businessman's suit. The service begins with the singing of English and Hawaiian hymns by the congregation led by a choir provided by one of the various church organizations. The hymns, sung without musical accompaniment, are of the soft sweet melancholy type. Sentimental hymns such as "Savior Like a Shepherd Lead Us," "What a Friend We Have in Jesus," "In the Garden," "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning," and "Where He Leads Me I Will Follow," suggest a feeling that Christ is comforting and loving. The sentimental feeling of love deeply entrenched in the Hawaiian mind is expressed through the choice of hymns. It ought to be emphasized here that this particular group of worshippers are not revivalistic in their services but follow very closely in Congregationalist form of worship.

After the singing of hymns the minister usually opens the Bible and randomly chooses and reads that passage of Scripture, in the belief that God

is speaking to the group at that particular moment by way of the random selection. The minister then interprets the Scripture to the congregation in terms of personal testimony, usually tying his experiences in with the deceased. He attempts to point out the cause of the person's death, following the belief of the group that death is punishment caused by sinful ways of living. It is not God but the Kepalo (devil) who causes death and illnesses. This belief is further associated with the ideas of kahunaism and spirits. God always warns a person of approaching death through dreams and special signs, which often go by unnoticed. Belief in spirits probably goes back to the old Hawaiian worship of akuas (nature gods), aumakuas (ancestral or guardian spirits) and unihipilis (recently departed spirit). This group of followers are very conscious about the care of their kino (body) and uhane (spirit), particularly with the latter. This idea of the importance of the spirit is probably a remnant of the ancient Hawaiian concept of the human soul.

The funeral service has no set ritual and the procedure followed varies with the minister in charge of the service. Often important members of the church are called upon to speak. The testimonies usually lead on to eulogies. The minister and other members of the congregation usually begin speaking in Hawaiian and end in English for the benefit of the younger people. The Hawaiian language is very important to this group and is used as much as possible.

Following the testimonies, final prayers are said in English and Hawaiian, asking God's mercy on the deceased and special comfort and help for the members of the family whom the dead person has left behind. There are no set prayers but each is made up on the spur of the moment. The service ends with the singing of the doxology and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, both in Hawaiian.

The closing of the coffin climaxes the funeral. It is at these final moments of the funeral that emotions are given free reign. Relations and friends file by the bier taking a last glance at the beloved. Many sob quietly, others burst out in a loud wail. Many persons pause before the bier, then lean over to kiss the body in farewell. While this is all going on, the immediate family members are being aroused emotionally more and more until some of them can't control themselves. They usually break down with loud screams, wailings, and mumbling. Finally, their last look at their beloved ends in a clutching embrace and kiss of the departed one.

A short service is usually performed at the graveside. A Hawaiian or English hymn is sung, prayers are offered and a final blessing is asked for both the spirit of the departed and the family. Then as the casket is lowered into the grave, the church members always break forth in the singing of "Nearer My God to Thee" in Hawaiian. Friends and family members usually remain at the graveside until the grave has been filled. Then people say good bye with final embraces and kisses to the bereaved family and depart.

Conclusions

It must again be emphasized that as these observations are rather limited in scope and depth, only tentative conclusions can be made. Further intensive research is needed.

1. The death of an individual provides an opportunity for friends

and relatives to gather together. It brings the group together strengthening the close ties of this particular Hawaiian group. The gathering at a funeral is like the gathering of a clan. It provides for a social gathering and an expression of closeness and unity.

2. In contrast to other ethnic groups, the Hawaiians tend to be very informal. Their dress at funerals brings out this idea. Their ways of showing respect, love, and sorrow also seem more unrestrained and informal. The emotions are expressed in a very overt fashion.

3. Attempts to preserve the Hawaiian heritage by this group can be observed in the use of the Hawaiian language in the service.

4. Some of the beliefs and actions of this particular church group suggest a cult-like character. Many beliefs seem to be a mixture of Christian and ancient Hawaiian ideas. Other beliefs are tied up with spirits and dream interpretation.

5. The Hawaiians have become a disorganized people, having been unable to cope with the many invading foreign cultures. At present, many Hawaiians are still unable to better themselves economically. Thus many turn to a cult-sect type of church which satisfies some personal need. It may also be a means of intensifying the group sentiments.

6. This Hawaiian church tries to recapture some of the Hawaiian group feeling. This it does by reverting back to the remnants of the Old Hawaiian ideas under Hawaiian leadership and with no connections with Haole-dominated churches. Thus it seems possible to term this group as a Hawaiian nativistic religious movement.

THE ADJUSTMENTS OF A YOUNG IMMIGRANT

Joyce Nishimura

I came to Hawaii from Japan in the summer of 1948 at the age of ten. Since my mother is a Hawaii-born Nisei and my father, a Japanese citizen, this makes me sort of a second-and-a-half generation immigrant. Before coming to Hawaii, we lived in Japan for about two years, and we spent the other years in Manchuria. We used to be a part of what the historians now call Japan's excess-population, sent to live in a remote portion of Nippon's once far-flung empire. After the war we went back to Japan, and, when father died, mother brought my three sisters and me to Hawaii.

Coming to Hawaii presented many new adjustment problems to my sisters and me. The first adjustment we had to make concerned the three basic needs: food, clothing and shelter. The struggle to adjust to the western type of food began as soon as we boarded the ocean liner which was to carry us to Hawaii. My sisters and I were fascinated by the varieties of ice cream that were served in the ship's dining room and we spent the first day eating ice cream until we were quite sick. Then we began craving for the kinds of food we were accustomed to, such as rice, miso-soup, tsukemono (pickled vegetables), shoyu, ume (pickled plum), and the like. Of course, these were not available on the American ship. Instead, there was an endless variety of what I now consider superb dishes--steak, fried chicken, leg of lamb, roasts, and so forth. But at that time we could not eat any of them. We, therefore, embarrassed our poor mother by ordering only rice and eating it with nothing but salt on it. I once mistook some pickles for tsukemono and some olives for ume. I eagerly bit into them, with disappointing results.

After reaching my grandparents' home in Hawaii, things were not so bad, for my aunt was an excellent cook of both Oriental and Haole food. Even then, it took me quite a while to get accustomed to having toast and milk for breakfast instead of rice and miso-soup. It took time, too, to get used to the idea of eating white, polished rice all the time, for in Japan that was a luxury. Rice was usually cooked with whole wheat or even sweet potatoes mixed in it. Now, nine years later, I am quite used to to widely varied food habits in Hawaii. I can now get along without rice for several weeks, whereas, when I first arrived, I had to have rice every day.

Becoming adjusted to the types of clothes was not difficult, for there is not so much difference between the types of clothes worn here and in Japan. There was one thing, however, that shocked me at first. That was the way in which young girls walked around in shorts or in blue jeans and loose Aloha shirts. When I first met one of my cousins, she wore a pair of blue jeans, rolled up several times at the bottom, and an untucked shirt which looked much too big for her. Another cousin wore shorts which exposed a large part of her legs. These greatly embarrassed me, for I had always felt that girls should be more modest in their dress. But after living through the first Hawaiian summer, I learned how comfortable these loose shirts and shorts are, and I soon discarded my earlier feelings against them.

As for houses in Hawaii, one of the things that I had to become adjusted to was having to live on hard wooden floors instead of the soft tatami (mat). Seeing some people walk into a house with their shoes on shocked me at first, too. This, however, was not allowed at my grandparents' house. Sleeping on a bed instead of on the floor, and taking a bath

in porcelain tubs instead of in the wooden furo were some of the new experiences that I had to face.

In addition to the physical adjustments, there were many new social situations to encounter. The first hurdle was that of learning English. Although mother could speak and write English proficiently, we never used English in Japan. Therefore, my sisters and I had to begin from the very beginning. In school, I was too old to be in the first grade, so I was placed in the third grade. There, with the help of a wonderfully understanding teacher, I slowly advanced from the ABC picture books to the "Dick and Jane" texts, and finally to the third grade readers. Picking up conversational English was less difficult because everyone around me spoke English. I soon found myself translating my Japanese thoughts into English, and then in no time I began thinking, as well as talking, in English. But the force of habit is strong, and I still find some things easier to think out in Japanese. Even now I can work out math problems faster if I do the mental computations in Japanese.

Another adjustment that I had to make, especially in school, was that of associating with people of other nationalities. The dark-skinned Hawaiians and Filipinos, especially, gave me a scare at first. I had not expected anyone to be so "dark." I was not prepared to associate with so many "Haoles" either, although in Osaka, Tokyo, Yokohama, and other big cities in Japan I had glimpses of the tall American G.I.'s. But, as I watched the other children mingle so unconcernedly among each other, I soon lost my self-consciousness and began enjoying associating with all of them.

As I grew older I became acutely conscious of another difference in the way of life here as compared to what I saw in Japan. I noticed that the boy-girl relationship here was more free and open, and that the girls were bolder than those I have seen in Japan. Girls talked nonchalantly about their boyfriends, the boys and girls seemed to think nothing of the public display of affection, and many of the parents, too, did not seem to mind all this. Young people in Hawaii seem to have a freer hand in their own social life than those that I had seen in Japan. Now, I am so accustomed to being my own "boss" in my social affairs, that I think I would resent having any of my relatives telling me what to do. I would most definitely object to being subjected to an arranged marriage like many of my cousins in Japan.

Religion was an area in which I had difficulty in getting well adjusted to. As long as I could remember, I worshipped in the Buddhist temples, not because I had any strong convictions but because that was the general custom in Japan. I had heard about Christianity, and I remember reading Japanese translations of many of the stories from the Bible. But these stories had seemed like fairy tales to me. Then, here in Hawaii I saw Christianity close at hand. I also saw conflict between Christianity and Buddhism. Some of my relatives are strong Christians, others, equally strong Buddhists. I heard my Christian relatives criticized by those who were not. At first, out of habit I attended the local Buddhist temple. But I began to realize that what I did in these Buddhist churches had no meaning for me and that I was merely performing formal rituals. It seemed that the Western way of life was based on Christian beliefs and I could not live long in this way of life and still cling to the old Buddhist beliefs. Thus, I became a Christian. But changing from one religious belief to another involves considerable mental adjustment. I am often made to feel that by becoming a Christian I had turned my back on the memories of my father, grandfather, and the other ancestors and thus am guilty of disloyalty.

Therefore, young as I was when I first came to Hawaii, I had many adjustments to make. I was quite successful in some, not so in others. I am still far from being completely well adjusted. But there is one thing I know: that I will never stop trying to be worthy of this great country which has given me a home and a citizenship.

REFLECTIONS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Andrea Sakai

It is difficult to write about oneself. Everything becomes in time so much a part of oneself that it's hard to know what is worth telling and what is best left unsaid.

I am what in Honolulu is laughingly, and sometimes otherwise, termed a "kotonk". You know--the sound the coconut makes as it falls to the ground? The similarity is said to be in the degree of hard-headedness of Mainland-born Nisei as compared with a Hawaii-born Nisei. Well, whatever the reason, I am one of those. My family and I lived in Portland, Oregon, most of our lives. There was a short sojourn in an assembly center, then a longer stay at Minidoka, Idaho, during the "relocation center" days. We also lived for a few years after the war in Salem, Oregon, after which we returned to live permanently in Portland.

Originally my parents came to Oregon from Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan. My mother was 18 years younger than my father, and theirs was an arranged marriage. A none too happy one since there was such an age gap between them as well as the fact that father had a frightful and unreasonable temper which expressed itself more frequently in his declining years as he began to return more and more to the old culture patterns. He had been the first-born son of a shipping firm owner and was raised by a doting grandmother. When his father remarried the son of the second wife became the heir, and my sea-captain father came to America to seek his livelihood. Even to his last days, father retained the characteristic commanding bellow of his seafaring past. After all, in the old days ships had no public address systems and one's voice had to suffice.

My mother had been the eldest daughter of a large farming family. She had played mother since about the second or third year of school to a motherless brood. Mother was quick and clever, but always said she never cared much for school just the same. So along with an age difference there also existed a wide educational gap between my mother and my father, who could read and write the more difficult Japanese. In later years, while in camp, father used to read Buddhist texts, etc., and people who could not read them often came to talk with my father for interpretation and discussion about their religion.

My parents worked in the beginning as cook and housemaid to extremely wealthy families in Oregon. Possibly, this influenced their ability to leave the ghetto in later years. In time they saved enough to open a waffle house and over the years ran one sort of restaurant or another. I'm not able to furnish more than sketchy details about my parents, partly because we children came along after things had settled and we were then in a florist business catering to a Haole trade and partly because my parents almost never talked about themselves or the past with us.

It seems that in my father's younger days he had been an active member of the Japanese community. He had several mementos of his leadership such as gold pens and watches. However, by the time I became acquainted with my family we were living miles from any other Japanese. I was for a long time the only Nisei in school, until my sister joined me three years later. We don't know why or how my parents came to leave the security of "Little Tokyo," but this may have increased in many ways the differences between our family and the typical Japanese families in and around Portland. Also, the fact that my parents lived away from the other

Japanese families seems to indicate that as Japanese they may not have been entirely typical in their ways. Yet, my parents were friendly with the Japanese in the area, because as a youngster I can recall seeing friends drop in and have tea and other refreshments with my parents. I was fascinated by their polite responses in greeting and sayonara, and wondered with wicked anticipation as children will, if they might not bump heads or even fall forward accidentally as they bowed so deeply and formally to each other. After all, we children never went through these motions and I could never quite understand why our elders did. On rare occasion we went into town and visited some of my parents' friends who still lived and worked in the Japanese settlement.

Our family followed the old pattern with father as head and authority for the family, especially with us children. We were taught to be obedient, never to talk back to our elders, that sex is not to be discussed, and to respect the men in our family as our superiors. My sister and I were taught that young ladies should be quiet and gentle, what in Japanese would be termed a yasashi musume-san.

My parents were both Buddhist, but they decided that since we were Americans we should attend Christian churches. Hence, even before my school days began I regularly attended a liberal Congregational church located just a few block away from our home and florist shop. Before the war, my parents did not attend their church. One reason for this may have been the great distance from their church in pre-war days. After my father's death my mother began to attend Buddhist services again. Of course during our stay in the relocation center my parents began to attend services regularly and the habit may have been reinstated at that time. I learned the ways of a Christian faith from the very beginning, although my parents did maintain an altar of sorts for their own worship at home. Nothing was ever said to us of its significance and it never occurred to me that their murmured Namu amida butsu and bowed heads had any religious significance. The only vivid recollection I have of the altar is that each New Year's we put mochi and other goodies on the altar shelf and father tossed a pair of dice till he obtained the desired lucky combination to place on the shelf with the goodies. So to my mind the altar was mainly just part of the Christmas and New Year's traditional gaiety. We observed Christmas by hanging up our stockings and finding them filled on Christmas morning. We received the usual gifts from Santa Claus and attended Christmas services at church. Mother usually came with us to these functions at church and at school while father tended shop. In recalling this I now realize that mother was always uncomfortable when she attended these functions, but what could she do? We youngsters were forever in the choir, the play, or some part of the school and church programs. New Year's was also the only time that we really had the typical spread of maki sushi, nishime, whole fish, etc., but I thought this special food was just synonymous to holiday festivities and never connected it in my mind as part of a Japanese food pattern.

Not only were my parents different in their leaving of the ghetto, but also in their insistence that we be American. They felt that since we were to live in America there was little point in sending us to Japanese school or for our learning all the usual Japanese customs. I can still hear my father saying to me, "You're going to school soon so from now on you must speak English." Yet, I must have spoken a good bit of Japanese prior to my first grade days, but I recall no language embarrassment in school. To this day I can, despite the lack of formal training in Japanese, speak more Japanese than can readily be accounted for. Even when we

arrived in the Assembly Centers during the war my understanding of Japanese exceeded my ability to speak. This additional exposure to the Japanese language has helped to reinforce what was earlier acquired at home. In later years even remembering how to say good morning in Japanese was difficult, but if I talked in my sleep at college the students could never, much to their frustration, repeat my comments. It seems that I talked in Japanese in my sleep, but couldn't say much while awake.

This being away from most Japanese influences produced Haole accents in the spoken English of our family. We speak more readily and fluently than many Nisei do and our speech lacks the typical nisei accents. My sister and brother did begin to associate more closely with the Japanese groups during and after the war and now on occasion have a faint accent in their speech. Their affiliations included activities with the Japanese community groups while mine never have. My thinking and interests were more in line with the Haole group and my closest affiliations have always been so. I left home at seventeen and have more or less continued this same pattern. This was not a matter of decision, merely one of habit. Although my brother was made to feel that other Nisei believed I did this out of snobbishness and a sense of being better than they, to my knowledge this is really not the case. I was more haole-fied during the course of my upbringing and had maintained affiliations which were most comfortable for me. But comfortable is a dubious statement, since in appearance I belonged with the Nisei group, in attitudes with the Haole group, and in actuality felt as though I really did not belong to either group.

The first conscious realization that I contained conflicting cultures within myself and accommodated myself to them unconsciously was brought about by a very simple incident. While visiting a Japanese family, I was offered some refreshments, and suddenly to my horror realized that I had accepted food at its first offering. Haole fashion you say yes or no and mean it. Japanese fashion you politely refuse a few times and are coaxed into acceptance. I pondered this incident and realized that I also had chosen non-slurp eating to polite slurpy Japanese eating. After all it's easier never to slurp than to stop slurping at will. A man without a country or one who forever walks on the borderline, never one thing or another, were my expressions for these feelings.

At home my parents spoke to us in a mixture of Japanese and English. We children spoke to them more in English than in Japanese. This did in later years cause a communication blockage with a limited vocabulary in each other's languages increasing the distance between the older generation and the new. It wasn't till I was sixteen that I felt this loss. We learned American ways in church, school, and in play activities in our neighborhood. Although our parents tried in their own way to help us with this adjustment their capacity to help was limited by their already established culture patterns and by their own adjustment problems created by a foreign culture without the support of ghetto life.

The communication barrier was so high that I often felt as though my parents neither loved me nor were they particularly interested in me. Any attempts at discussion wound up in quarrels due to lack of understanding on both sides and the lack of language with which to accomplish understanding. My brother was away in service at this time so that I could not consult him. He had taught me in his rigorous manner proper behavior, Emily Post style, and coached me on other necessary factors in my early youth. Having no model to follow at home, in many ways we became "super-Americanized." It takes time to find any happy medium. In later years

the family ties became almost nonexistent as we children grew up and went about our own business. Out of my parents' encouraging us to be Americanized came two sharply different worlds in which we operated with little or no common meeting ground between the two. Our loss of the old has been compensated for in our being as Americanized in many ways as many third generation Japanese may be, and in our ability to adapt to the American scene, but I sometimes wonder if the gain is worth what we have lost in the process.

Since my family have no relatives outside Japan, with my father's death when I was sixteen, my mother felt extremely lonely. Perhaps for this reason she resumed Buddhist church attendance and became interested again in Japanese community programs and movies. However, mother to this day still does not cultivate the usual close friendships with other people and still does not join any of the Japanese community organizations. I do not know if this is just the old habit of being away from Japanese groups and being so long alone, or if she is characteristically unsociable or a little of both. Mother has turned down opportunities to remarry. Again I do not know if the mentioned traits influence this, if her previous unhappy marriage keeps her from remarrying, or if the possible choice of mates just hasn't met her fancy. My mother has always been strongly distrustful and suspicious of all people and prefers to be entirely self-sufficient. Possibly the strain of being away from her own culture group has encouraged this habit.

We all attended a grammar school which went through the eighth grade. The youngsters attending the school were from families that had been sending their children to the same school for years. The teachers were of long standing in our community. The neighborhood was indeed a very stable one. My conception of myself as being different or Japanese did not begin until the war so that my early school days were lived in a blissful unconsciousness of this fact. It is said that we determine how we look by those around us and I never noticed that my family looked particularly different, nor I from my colleagues.

My parents placed strong emphasis upon good scholarship. Unfortunately for me my brother skipped through school, made mostly "A's," and attained other honors throughout his school years. To shame me into doing well he was held up to me as a constant example of good scholarship. It was a relief to attend a different high school when the war ended. After basking in my brother's reflected glory all through grade school, I had begun to wonder if my own ability or my brother's past record had determined my school progress. In grade school I travelled with the leadership group, and often held lead roles in plays, had special assignments that permitted me to skip classes, and had the honor several times of being school librarian. I was "teacher's pet." As far as I can recall, I was completely accepted at school. There were a very few instances where children did express their parents' prejudices, but this seldom happened, and I recognized them as such only now in retrospect. They meant little to me then. My life up to this point had been extremely sheltered and was composed mainly of school, church, and home, and consequently this gave me a protective naivete.

Pearl Harbor Day changed all this. First we were sent to an Assembly Center in May of 1942. I thought this was quite a lark. My classmates gave me the most marvellous gifts and a wonderful sendoff. We packed up, took shots, had to observe a curfew, and could not travel very far from home. A long bus trip was taken and this was a novel

experience for me. However, the arrival at the Assembly Center seemed unreal. We were processed through long lines for housing and medical check-ups, etc., then home suddenly was contained in one room in unpainted barracks with tar paper roofs and partitions between families with openings at the top to keep the circulation of air going between rooms. We had showers and toilet facilities assigned to us depending on what section we were living in. Meals were taken at the mess halls in army fashion. Strangely enough, school was set up immediately. I will never forget my sudden realization--all my classmates look alike! Even when some of them said "hello" to me, I could never be sure if I knew them or if they were just starting up a new friendship with me. Finally--oh successful day--I could identify two of my girl-friends. One had a bad case of acne, a most distinguishing mark, and the other girl had the same first name as I and especially long eyelashes and pigtails. Gradually, I learned to distinguish one from another, and now since my stay in Honolulu I can often distinguish a Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and even mixtures from one another, and I no longer have trouble distinguishing the individual Oriental.

In September of 1942 the Assembly Centers were disassembled and we were sent to Minidoka, Idaho, to what was termed a "relocation center," the idea being that we could relocate from these centers at any time, providing clearance could be obtained, to any of the non-restricted areas in the United States. We arrived in time for the coldest winter that the area had experienced in many a year. Thus, I learned the beauties of crackling cold, drifting snow, and lots of thick ice. We had a marvellous winter ice-skating for the first time on the Gooding Canal. Of course, on the more serious side, we found ourselves living in one room family arrangements again. The size of the family decided the size of the assigned quarters. The block was split up into ten barracks with five barracks on each side. The center portion was occupied by two large buildings, a mess hall and the laundry and bath facilities. School was begun shortly after our arrival. Many of the students knew each other from pre-war days and shared similar attitudes and interests, but I felt out of place and had to begin all over again. Still, I knew that the others noticed that I spoke "lousy" Japanese, didn't know "beans" about the accepted Japanese ways, and even knew very little about common Japanese foods. My family had up to this point eaten American breakfasts, and lunch at school had always been the American institution--a sandwich with soup or milk. At home we sometimes ate Japanese food for lunch or dinner, but this was never a definite matter. Since we were not allowed to eat at other people's houses except on extremely rare occasion, it never occurred to me that we mixed two food patterns under our roof. To my knowledge, other people ate the same things we did.

So as children can and will do, I was made to feel quite stupid because my ignorance of the Japanese ways amused them. Also, after having been with the privileged group in my own school, I now was just another student. This was disconcerting. Especially since I just felt these things and did not possess the necessary insight to think them through. Eventually, I did make a few friends and fell into a somewhat comfortable pattern, playing the usual card games, kick the can, and other such things that youngsters of my age did in "the good old" camp days. There were friends of my own age, but I was closest to people who were a good deal older. My brother and I had more difficulty fitting in than my sister who was only 10 years old and young enough to adapt more readily to the situation.

My parents under contact again with the Japanese community began

to become more Japanese in their ways. Father took to playing Goh with the men and mother took to visiting with a few of her Japanese neighbors occasionally and in taking classes for flower arrangement, pattern drafting, etc. My parents felt that the displeasure of the other Japanese for the seeming rudenesses of their children who were much too Americanized by the standards of other Issei. I can remember being scolded often for improper behavior of one sort or another. This was the beginning of being compared unfavorably with other people's children and of being asked why we couldn't be like them. This practice eventually convinced me that I was both unloved and unlovable.

In camp some of the Issei became more "nationalistic" and felt that America would surely lose the war. However, the majority were still for America and wished to remain in their adopted homeland. When the United States' Government announced that the Nisei would now be permitted to volunteer for the service, my brother promptly did so. Well, my parents felt this was as it should be since he was an American. This led to a rather interesting squabble. When New Year's rolled around the army, taking the Japanese customs into consideration, sent enough mochi rice into camp for the blocks to make mochi for each family. An angry "nationalist" decided that the families of volunteer soldiers ought to be deprived of this treat. Every family did receive their fair share, but mother along with the other parents who also had soldier sons, felt quite unhappy about this. It was difficult enough to wonder if her only son would ever return alive without having to contend with the petty bickering about whether we did or did not deserve any mochi.

Camp life was well organized. We had a camp newspaper and a yearly camp annual. The hospital and administrative buildings were on one end of the camp. The schools were located in centralized blocks. We had several recreation halls where students attended free weekly movies by making use of student passes. Three canteens were strategically placed to service the entire camp area. Churches were established by ministers who came into camp or by the few Japanese church men who were present in the camp. We had an annual Christmas contest for the best decorated mess hall, shibai, dances, etc., sponsored by various camp groups. Jobs were available at $19.00 per month for top jobs such as doctors, dentists, etc., and at $16.00 per month for ordinary office work, etc. There were outside Haoles who came in and did these same jobs for regular civil service salaries. This used to annoy some of my older friends a little. Especially if the people turned out to be none too competent.

While in camp I began to learn that prejudice existed, and to hear stories from older Nisei about how things were on the "outside." The camp newspaper carried articles on how certain areas did or did not accept Nisei who had relocated from Minidoka into different unrestricted areas, and gave advice on proper and responsible behavior for all Nisei who planned to relocate. People generally seemed to judge what a Japanese is in terms of individual contacts. Gradually out of experiences such as these I became aware that I belonged to a minority group. This was of course in a rather nebulous fashion. I, who had not known about being different, began to fear the outside world which existed beyond the wire fence around my present world.

These realizations left me feeling very inadequate and unsure of myself, almost as though somehow I ought to apologize for being born. After the war I was afraid to be too noticed because it seemed more comfortable not to draw attention to myself. I acquired a sense of responsibility in terms of not doing anything that would bring unfavorable attention

upon the Japanese group. But I was caught in the unhappy position of belonging almost entirely by culture, to the Haole group; but by physical appearance and the thought that "I ought to," to the Japanese group, and yet not fitting in with the Japanese group at all, and not entirely belonging because of race to the Haole group either. I knew the bitterness of shame. I was Oriental. The distress of believing myself inferior because I was Japanese overwhelmed me. All these attitudes had become mine by the time I left camp and crystalized as I began to experience prejudice in operation. However, with prejudice it is sometimes difficult to know whether one finds it or invents it.

About August of 1945 we left Minidoka and took up residence in Salem, Oregon. I was terribly self-conscious and painfully bashful. However, my sense of belonging with the Haole group was not entirely lost. I did take a rather quiet part in a few school activities such as sports, drama club, office assistant, etc. I went through the process of being the first girl in the family and had to break the way in regard to clothes, makeup, school activities, and special school expenses which my brother had not required in his school days. My sister because of this had less parental disapproval of her activities and more freedom to do things in the way her schoolmates did. Salem had few Japanese families and so I had just two other Nisei in my graduating class of some two hundred students. My sister had a good many more Nisei in her class and so she continued her activities with the Nisei, but was active with the Haole school group also. My sister has always been able to fit in comfortably with both groups, but her attachment is first with the Japanese element, particularly since she married a Nisei boy, and only secondly, with the Haole group. There is no question in her mind as to where she belongs.

After graduation from high school, I decided to attend a business college in Portland. However, I worried about obtaining a job; recalling the talk during the camp days by my older friends about the problems of being Nisei increased my anxieties. My brother once lost a high school newspaper route when a subscriber objected to having a Japanese boy deliver his papers. His age group had had difficulty prior to the war in obtaining anything except rather menial jobs. However, with the war ended, there are more jobs available for qualified Nisei. Still I feel we need to be better qualified than a Haole competing for the same job in order to obtain it. I feel that we must do well for if we don't the poor impression will be carried over and some other deserving person may be denied a job opportunity. People do stereotype on the basis of a limited experience and this fact is not to be lightly thrust aside. This business of always being careful, of giving a good impression, and the sense of heavy responsibility to the Japanese group, with whom I hardly associated personally, gave rise to my feeling Japanese first and myself second, if ever. I remember also a phase of scrupulous cleanliness and grooming because the expression a "dirty jap" caused me such distress that I determined never to fit the description.

I was driven further in this uncomfortable direction when I started to date a Haole boy steadily. Then the troubles really began. He was tall, blond, blue-eyed, with a profile like that of King George of England. Bob was also very bright and capable. His Haole friends considered him wasted on me, to put it mildly. People often stared at us because we frequented places seldom visited by Japanese, and because we were such a striking contrast to each other. It seems that he lost a desirable fraternity affiliation during his college days because we dated steadily. In time I began to feel that I would be a detriment to his success, particularly since he

yearned to be a industrial relations specialist. Success in this area is often dependent upon social and business contacts and his choice of a mate could make a difference to him. We believed that what we were doing was right, but others believed themselves to be right also, and never the twain could meet. Mother surprised me by her attitude of "marry whomever you please, just be sure he's nice." She would of course prefer a Nisei but there was never any insistence about this point. If father had lived longer, things might have been less liberal. One incident in regard to Bob stands out in my memory. Bob's aunt and uncle came to visit him and I was completely snubbed by his aunt. His uncle was very nice, but his aunt would neither acknowledge our introduction, nor would she speak to me at all. She spent the entire evening discussing at length how well-educated, well-bred and socially acceptable her daughter-in-law was. I could hardly miss the point. I was so angry, yet even then I could not bring myself to be rude. The pacifist attitude for handling these situations, of behaving maturely for long-range results for the Japanese group held me fast. It wasn't easy.

While writing a paper on interracial marriage I had come across an article about the Hawaiian melting pot. Bob and I decided that this might be the solution, so in October 1951 I flew down. This was the end of my engagement to Bob. For the first time in my life I felt part of a crowd. The discovery that being Japanese worked to my advantage at times was a small revelation. This pleased me and at the same time caused a few twinges of conscience. The sense of being just myself and Japanese when and if I "darned" pleased was an enjoyable one. The right to compete for a job and not worry about being Oriental--will they be prejudiced, etc., was refreshing. I knew the headiness of being "superior" in a sense because I was Mainland born and educated and the job opportunities were better for me than for many of my Hawaii-born counterparts. Since pidgin can be an asset, for a while I did use more of it than was necessary. This was much to the annoyance and amusement of my local friends. I also had had my fill of mixed racial dating, and so began dating only Oriental boys. Hindsight has taught me, however, that friends can't be selected by color, so I've gone back to selecting them by mutual compatibility. Out of this experience grew the realization that I need not be ashamed of being myself, and that somehow I had secretly down inside resented not being born Haole. For the first time in my life I was glad I was me and not someone else.

Along with the joys of living in Honolulu, however, there were also some painful moments. I stood out because I spoke like a Haole, behaved like a Haole, thought and had interests like a Haole. In Portland this is not extraordinary, but in Honolulu this was a seeming affectation. Once a boy came up from another office to see with his own eyes this Haole who looked like a Japanese, and said so to my face. On the Mainland we use words more freely, and I felt quite verbose when I spoke to my local friends and acquaintances. Our Mainland formalities were awkward in Honolulu unless I happened to be with a Haole group that observed the same formalities. Honolulans have criticized me for being snobbish, aloof, insincere, superior in my attitudes, affected, and many other uncomplimentary things. One reason for this is that there is still strong feeling amongst the local people that speaking well, behaving in certain patterns, etc., are all the earmarks of affecting "Haole-fication." These are the traits which aid local youngsters to obtain and hold jobs, but rather than encouraging such traits this attitude shames many local people into avoiding them in order to belong. It is encouraging that more youngsters are becoming aware of their advantages. This still does not entirely protect me from being regarded as "different and peculiar" by people who do not know me or my background. Prejudice is, after all, much the same in its operation and causes everywhere.

Writing about oneself may be difficult, but there are certain advantages to be found in the process. The systematic examination of some of the factors which shaped me has replaced a tenuous and at times painful comprehension of my personal adjustment with an objective realization that I am part of a large over-all pattern. The orderly picture from unawareness, to disorganization, and the subsequent path toward personality adjustment in terms of my culture, race, family, and other environmental factors has been both therapeutic and educative. The class discussions and subsequent reading have given me a clearer understanding of immigrant and second-generation problems. In recognizing the significance of culture and personality development in the human being with its ramifications in adapting to a new culture I have enlarged my concepts of marginalism and consequently of myself.

EFFECTS OF THE HUSBAND'S ROLE UPON SUCCESSFUL OR UNSUCCESSFUL TERMINATION OF PREGNANCY: Preliminary Findings[1]

Dr. Louisa P. Howe

Babies who die before their lives have really begun represent a serious problem which medical research has only recently begun to explore. In many ways the situation with respect to fetal deaths is comparable to that which prevailed fifty years or so ago with respect to infant mortality. No one then had a clear idea about the number of babies who died in the first year of life, nor the conditions under which these deaths occurred, for infant death certificates were only rarely filed. Furthermore, there was little thought that such deaths could be prevented. They were widely regarded as manifestations of the will of God, and it was believed that even if the little ones had survived a bit longer, they would have been constitutionally too weak ever to become healthy adults. Bereaved mothers were therefore comforted with the thought that "everything had worked out for the best."

No sooner had this belief been effectively challenged than a dramatic reduction of infant mortality rates began to occur. Between 1900 and 1950 the U.S. rate dropped from a number estimated as well over one hundred to 29.2 infant deaths per 1000 live births, and the rate for the Territory of Hawaii in 1950 was distinctly lower than that: 23.8 per 1000 live births. But during this period of rapid advance in saving babies' lives after they had been born, there has apparently been little reduction in the losses occurring before birth. Although precise data on the incidence of miscarriage are lacking, it has been estimated that 1 out of every 10 pregnancies ends in loss at some point during the nine month period of gestation.

Although a great many variables may possibly prove to be associated with the successful or unsuccessful termination of pregnancy, only one among the many will be considered here. This one is the woman's husband, the man responsible for her pregnancy.

It may be assumed that the husband's every day behavior can--at least in certain cases--affect the course of his wife's pregnancy by influencing her emotional equilibrium, with consequent physiological changes being then induced through hormonal mechanisms. Certainly pregnancy is a major period of crisis in the life of any woman, and indeed in the lives of all members of her family.[2] Bringing a new individual into the world is a task which makes extraordinary demands upon a woman's vital resources, in terms both of her emotional and her physical functioning. One

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[1] The present paper reports observations made independently of the Kauai Pregnancy Study, a research project with which the author has been associated for the past three and a half years, and does not draw upon the findings of this study.

[2] A research study currently being carried on by Dr. Grete L. Bibring and others at Beth Israel Hospital in Boston places great stress on pregnancy as a situation of crisis. These investigators have found that a profound reorganization of psychic functioning is undergone by the pregnant woman, especially at the time of her first pregnancy.

might expect, under these circumstances, that factors which in themselves might seem to bear no direct physiological relationship to successful or unsuccessful pregnancy might nevertheless serve to tip the balance in certain cases where the influence of other factors may already have placed the pregnancy in jeopardy.

Among the cases to be presented, only a small number are likely to reflect the influence (if any) which the man's behavior has upon the course of his wife's pregnancy. The causes of fetal loss are presumably many and varied; offhand one would not expect that external influences could play much part in cases where, for example, the conceptus became implanted outside the uterus (ectopic pregnancy); or in cases where a full-term infant died of cord strangulation during the process of delivery. But both of these are instances of fetal death, and both have been indiscriminately included in the group of 100 cases of fetal loss which serve as one of the two groups to be compared. The second group, consisting of 100 live births, is also somewhat indiscriminate because they were initially selected simply as live births, regardless of the fact that a certain number of these live births were premature. A fetus which is delivered after only 20-odd weeks of gestation (instead of the usual 40) has a slim chance for survival even if it does happen to be born alive, and it could well be argued that cases of this sort should be classified with fetal losses occurring after a comparable period of gestation, rather than being grouped with normal full-term deliveries.

For practical reasons the only criteria that have been applied in the selection of these two groups, however, are these: (1) the mother was interviewed concerning (and in most cases during) her pregnancy; (2) she was also, (in early 1957) asked an additional set of questions about her husband, and about her own early life; (3) if a "live birth" case, she was pregnant during the first part of 1957, had no history of fetal losses in the recent past, and proceeded to give birth to a living baby; (4) if a "fetal death" case, her loss occurred at some time between late 1954 and early 1957, and she was quite likely to have also had one or more live births during this same period.[3] Mothers in the "fetal death" group were not informed that the additional interview had any connection with the fact that they had suffered a fetal loss; instead they were told that they had been chosen as a "sample" of the total group of mothers (about 1200) who had previously been interviewed for the Kauai Pregnancy Study.

Although the data to be presented here give some indication that the husband does play a part in helping or hindering the successful course of his wife's pregnancy, the data must also be viewed with a reasonable amount of skepticism. Even though, for example, the findings in this small group of cases bear out Javert's and Mann's impression that a woman is more likely to carry her pregnancy through successfully if she

[3] It is probable that differences between the two groups of mothers would be considerably sharpened if the "fetal death" group consisted only of repeated or habitual aborters, so that mothers who had had only one loss out of several successful pregnancies would have been excluded. See Javert, Carl T., Spontaneous and Habitual Abortion, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957; and Mann, Edward C., "Psychiatric Investigation of Habitual Abortion," Obstetrics and Gynecology, Vol. 7, No. 6 (June, 1956), pp. 589-601.

is not burdened by having a husband with her at all, I suspect that a more exhaustive study of illegitimate pregnancies would reveal that fetal losses do occur, after all, in a fair number of such cases.[4] It is interesting that the present sampling of mothers bears out Javert's and Mann's supposition, but it is not necessarily significant in a casual sense. The same must be said about the other findings which are shown in the table below: they are interesting, to be sure, but their significance has by no means been definitely established.

In the table which follows, the information obtained from the two groups of women, consisting of 100 F.D. (fetal death) and 100 L.B. (live birth) cases respectively, is presented according to the order in which the questions were asked. An earlier part of the same interview (not reported here) was devoted to inquiries about the woman's own early life, the number of brothers and sisters she had, etc. Then the woman was asked about her contacts with young men as she was growing up; whether or not her parents approved of her marriage; various questions about her present home life with her husband; and finally a question about whom she would most like to have a baby of hers resemble.

The answers given by the woman to these questions have been grouped together so as to show, first, the differences between the two groups which appear to be most notable; and second, the distribution of replies when that distribution seems to have some interest from a descriptive standpoint. Where contrasts between the two groups seem to be fairly marked, one or two asterisks have been placed under the question number (*); when no appreciable differences occur, this fact is shown by (-). Answers have been grouped together only in cases where there were no notable differences between the two groups of women, and when the numbers involved in at least one of the classifications were small. Since there are exactly 100 mothers in each group, the figures which are given also represent percentages.

REPLIES OBTAINED TO QUESTIONS DEALING WITH HUSBAND, FROM 100 MOTHERS EXPERIENCING FETAL LOSSES AND 100 MOTHERS EXPERIENCING LIVE BIRTHS

Question number:	Content of reply or groups of replies	Outcome of pregnancy F.D.	L.B.	
1.	Woman had a good many boy friends before marriage	20	14	
(-)	Average or customary amount of contact	20	19	
	Few or no contacts; contact only with future husband	60	63	
	Unkown	0	4	
				200
2.	Woman's parents approved of her marriage	68	79	
(*)	Woman out of touch with parents at time of marriage	8	1	
	Parents showed some disapproval, or woman eloped	24	20	
				200

[4] See references just cited, and findings under question 8 below.

Question number:	Content of reply or groups of replies	Outcome of pregnancy F.D.	L.B.	
3.	Second marriage (whether approved or disapproved or approval unknown)	7	9	
(-)	No second marriage	93	91	
				200
4.	Woman had no job since marriage	27	36	
(*)	Worked only a small proportion of the time	33	33	
	Worked a large or moderate proportion of time	29	21	
	Worked, proportion of time unknown	11	10	
				200
5.	Activities with husband at home: a good deal	21	33	
(**)	"Some" or "yes"	61	52	
	Little or none	12	7	
	No opportunity; no husband, or husband away from home, or doing after-hours work for family's sake	6	8	
				200
6.	Activities with husband away from home: a good deal	22	24	
	"Some" or "yes"	59	52	
(-)	Little or none	13	12	
	No opportunity; take turns; he goes out alone	6	10	
	Unknown	0	2	
				200
7.	Husband takes little or no responsibility for children	16	4	
(*)	Shares, or takes some responsibility for children	53	53	
	Takes a good deal of responsibility	30	34	
	Husband away or other people responsible	0	9	
	Unknown	1	0	
				200
8.	Husband assumes little or no responsibility for family (household)	16	6	
(*)	Assumes some, or others are responsible	53	54	
	Assumes a good deal of responsibility	31	34	
	Husband away (including illegitimate cases)	0	6	
				200
9.	Husband's earnings below average, or no husband present	8	10	
(-)	Husband an average provider	82	79	
	Husband an above average provider	10	11	
				200

Question number:	Content of reply or groups of replies	Outcome of pregnancy F.D.	L.B.	
10.	Woman's dissatisfaction with husband:			
(**)	some or considerable	31	16	
	(Husband's drinking mentioned as a problem)	(9)	(4)	
	Little or no dissatisfaction with husband	59	67	
	Dissatisfaction only with situation; or husband not present	2	6	
	Unknown	8	11	
				200
11.	Apparently some or considerable grounds for woman's dissatisfaction	22	12	
(*)	Apparently little or none, or situational only, or husband not present	70	76	
	Unknown	8	12	
				200
12.	Wish for child to resemble both parents	8)	14)	
(**)	Wish simply for a "healthy child"	4)	11)	
	Wish for child to resemble husband or his relatives	19	14	
	Wish for child to resemble woman or her relatives	7	6	
	Wish for child to be better off than its parents	5	1	
	Woman say she doesn't know	53	50	
	No answer obtained	4	4	
				200

In order to describe more concretely the way in which questions were both asked and answered, to add a little flesh to the bare tabular bones, and to see what possible implications may be drawn from these findings, some discussion is in order.

Since the data for these tabulations were counted up by hand rather than by machine, certain cross breakdowns have been omitted which it might have been worth while to make. One wonders, for example, about the women who had more than an average number of boy friends before marriage (#1). Were they, for example, the ones who were more likely to be dissatisfied with their husbands after marriage (#10)? Tabulations necessary to answer this question were not made. The differences between the F.D. and L.B. groups are in any case very slight, however, and there is some doubt about the validity of the answers received.

A number of women said that they had never had dates in the usual, modern American sense, but had only attended various functions involving groups of boys and girls. This sort of answer has been classified as "average or customary" when the woman seems simply to have been conforming to the practices that were usual in her community, but such answers are hard to assess. It is also quite possible that the findings on this item have been contaminated by the inclusion of answers from the small number of women who had been married more than once at the time of the interview (#3), for some of these mothers admitted to having had a large number of men friends between their first and second marriages, and the

answers given by this group of women were included in the same classification as answers given by those who had been married only once. (The fact of having married more than once obviously makes no difference at all with respect to the criterion being used here.)

Whether or not the woman's parents (or parent-substitutes) approved of her marriage is evidently a consideration of at least some importance (#2), and it is particularly striking to see that the few women who have lost touch with their own families are more likely to be included in the F.D. group than those who remained in touch with their families until at least the time they were first married. This finding at least hints at the possibility that the chances of successful child-bearing may be increased when a certain degree of continuity is maintained with the family in which a woman has grown up.

Although the difference is slight enough so that the woman who wishes to hold a job after marriage should not necessarily be deterred by the findings concerning this group of mothers, it nevertheless does appear that a working mother's chance of falling into the L.B. category is less than that of a mother who does not work, or who works only for a small part of the time. This latter classification covers, by the way, both the mothers who worked full-time for relatively brief periods and those who worked for a small proportion of the day or week throughout the greater part of the time since marriage.

With question #5 we come more directly to the husband himself, the questions up to this point having been concerned with him only rather indirectly. Apparently it makes little or no difference whether or not the husband is at home much of the time during the woman's pregnancy. If he is there, however, his wife's chance of being in the live birth group are somewhat enhanced if he and she engage in various activities at home together. A few of the answers describing this state of affairs are as follows: "We're always together, very seldom go out separately. He helps cook, hang clothes, and iron when I'm busy." And another says: "We share all the work, housecleaning, the yard, and taking care of the pigs." A contrasting comment about her husband comes from a different woman: "He doesn't like to be asked to help; he does very little around the house." Another woman says that her husband "helps only when I'm sick," while someone else mentions the fact that she and her husband listen to music together. An example of a husband who has no opportunity to do much at home is one whose working day lasts from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. seven days a week, with time off only at the dinner hour.

Apparently the item concerning activities at home with the husband shows more difference between the two criterion groups than does the following question (#6) concerning activities away from home. The actual statements made by the mothers often combined the two, however, and there is a possibility that activities revealing the husband's display of responsibility for the children and for the home and family (#7 and #8) have been given undue prominence under a heading which was not intended to cover them.

In response to question #6, frequent types of responses were the following: going to the movies or to the beach, going visiting to the homes or relatives or friends, going to church, going fishing together, going to ball games, or going bowling or golfing. Apparently there was no difference between the two groups of mothers on this item, although rather frequently it was stated that, at least some of the time, the husband engaged in these

activities alone or with his friends, rather than in company with his wife (and often children).

If a woman's statements indicate her belief that her husband takes little or no responsibility for the children, she is evidently four times more likely to be in the F.D. group as she would be if she felt that her husband assumed at least some responsibility for them--except, again, in cases where the husband simply is not there to help care for the children. In making classifications of the answers to this question, it was necessary in a few cases to rely upon either presumptive or later-obtained evidence: where the woman was pregnant for the first time, a check was made of the later interview in which her husband's reactions to the new baby were described; if this information was also lacking, other data were sought concerning the husband's attitude toward his wife's pregnancy and toward the prospect of having children, the classification then being made on this basis.

An almost equally sharp contrast is found on question #8, which deals with other, more general, responsibilities which the husband assumes for his family. The woman was asked, "Does he feel a good deal of responsibility for the family, or does he leave many responsibilities up to you?" Some of the responses to this question overlapped considerably with the earlier questions #5 and #6 ("Do you and your husband do things together? At home? Other activities?"). One contented woman exclaims, "He can cook. He can do everything. He helps, too. Even though most of the time I can do everything myself." Another, less happy with her lot, complains "I get hard time tell him to help around the house," adding that he left most of the responsibilities to her.

In classifying the husband's earnings an effort was made to pick only rather extreme points on a scale from high to low, and the few who were rated as "below average" were for the most part receiving aid from the Department of Public Welfare. While it is possible that some differences might emerge if the "average" group were broken down into at least two further categories, the present figures suggest the likelihood that the husband's performance as a breadwinner has little or nothing to do with his wife's chances of achieving a successful or unsuccessful termination of her pregnancy.

The responses given to questions #10 and #11 again seem to be closely tied to the answers given to questions concerned with the husband's display of responsibility for the children, or for the family and household in general. The inquiry for #10 was worded, "Are there any special ways in which you wished your husband behaved differently from the way he does?" and for #11 a judgment was made by the interviewer as to whether complaints or criticisms were uttered simply because the woman was of a complaining temperament, or whether there was apparently some realistic basis for her critical remarks. Many women smilingly denied that there was anything about their husbands that they would like to see changed; another asserted that she had already succeeded in changing him sufficiently. It is interesting that 9 of the 13 mothers who complained about their husbands' drinking fell in the F.D. category, as against 4 in the L.B. group.

The final question (#12) again has little to do directly with the role of the husband in relation to his wife and family. It does, however, give rise to certain questions which might be worth pursuing further in connection with the mother's willingness on a somewhat abstract level, to regard the child as a relatively autonomous being rather than identifying it closely

with either one of its parents or other forebears.[5] Judging by the criterion used in this paper, it is advantageous for the woman simply to want her baby to develop as a "healthy child," or alternatively to represent a synthesis of both parents' qualities rather than to be a second edition of one or the other of its parents. And it reflects the mother's general state of unhappiness--a state for which the husband must certainly take some share of responsibility--if she concludes that she doesn't care, "Just so long as the child is better off than we are."

Summary and Conclusions

With the thought that a pregnant woman's husband might have more of an effect upon the successful or unsuccessful termination of her pregnancy than is ordinarily conceived, interviews with 200 women have been examined from the standpoint of the husband's role. Half of these women, or 100, had experienced at least one fetal death between 1954 and 1957, while the other 100 mothers were recorded as having had only live births during the same period.

When these two groups are compared, certain differences appear which are of interest, although their significance is not established. The F.D. (fetal death) mothers are more likely to have married without the consent or approval of their parents. The greater tendency of the F.D. group to have lost touch with their own parents or parent-substitutes at the time of marriage leads one to wonder whether the premature dissolution of one tie predisposes to the untimely severing of another. Possibly so; perhaps this possibility should be explored further. There is no indication, however, that another sort of severance--divorce, followed by remarriage--bears any relation to successful or unsuccessful termination of pregnancy.

Cross-tabulations might have shed more light on a number of questions that remain unanswered. The data seem to show, for example, that mothers who have been employed during a sizeable portion of the time since marriage are more likely to be found in the F.D. group. But perhaps many of these working mothers also had husbands who were felt to be deficient in assuming responsibility--for the family and home and for the children--and this may be the crucial variable. Although no evidence exists of a relationship between the husband's capacities as a breadwinner and the outcome of pregnancy, a hint is found that the man's drinking habits--or his wife's reaction to them--may be of some consequence.

[5] Compare Gerald Caplan's distinction between mothers who recognize their babies as distinct individuals in their own right, and those whose relationship tends to remain "symbiotic." Nancy Bayley and Earl S. Schaefer have stressed essentially the same distinction in comparing mothers who grant autonomy to the child with mothers whose relationship is "instrusive" and over-possessive. An account of Caplan's views can be found in The Hawaii Health Messenger, Vol. XVIII, No. 6 (1957). See also Schaefer, Earl S., Bell, Richard Q., and Bayley, Nancy, "Quantification of Maternal Behavior and Consistency of Mother-Child Interaction," (mimeo.), National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda 14, Md., 1957.

There is reason to believe that the husband's actual conduct is less important than the pregnant woman's opinion of his conduct. The 15% difference between the two groups of women with respect to dissatisfaction expressed about their husbands drops to 10% when the women's apparent grounds for dissatisfaction are evaluated by the interviewer. Even without any support from data of this sort, however, it would be necessary to assume that the woman's feelings about her husband's conduct have far greater importance than can be ascribed to his behavior as the latter might be objectively assessed. It is only through the psychological medium of feelings (with their physiological correlates) that social influences can be considered to affect biological functioning. The present paper assumes that by this route a path can be traced from the role of the husband to the physiological state of his wife during pregnancy and thence to the outcome of the pregnancy, and represents a preliminary step on the part of the author toward exploring this path.

ADOPTION IN HAWAII

Margaret Smalley and Charlotte Woodruff

" 'Adoption is a great adventure, comparable only to the thrill of actual physiological motherhood, and, in some ways, surpassing even that. Having tried both, I can state from experience that the child you deliberately choose rewards your love and care just as richly as the one Mother Nature sends haphazard.' This conviction voiced by a mother, amid the gloom of depression and war threatened years, is but a reflection of what many others have said with enthusiasm."[1] The above quotation is the opening paragraph of a book published in 1939. Since that time there has been increasingly widespread human interest in adoption. Practically every national magazine has within the last year carried one or more articles on this subject. TV and radio have found the subject of such public interest that, in addition to many public service programs, several commercial programs have appeared. Adoption may be defined as the legal process of transferring full parental rights, responsibilities, and privileges from one set of legal parents to another, the child thereby becoming fully the legal child of the adoptive family.

History of Adoption in the United States

The modern concept of adoption began to develop in the United States about one hundred years ago. In 1851 the State of Massachusetts passed the first adoption law which focused on safeguarding the rights of children. As in most instances, this law was enacted to legalize and regulate already existing practices and customs in the community.

Prior to that time, if a child could not be cared for by his own people, or became a pauper, at an early age he was farmed out for indentured labor. Around this time, the "free home" had also become the vogue and literally hundreds of pauper children of the Atlantic Coast were separated from their parents and shipped west and south to families whose interest in them had been solicited. Families would look over the group of children at the railroad station and would pick by sight the child who appealed to them. Though still legally related to the families they had left behind, the children were indebted to the families who took them in. The emphasis in all of these placements, or quasi-adoptions, was on the desires of the foster family with little recognition given to the needs of the child.

Throughout our country as a whole, interest in adoption has been increasing for the past 20 or 30 years and very markedly so during the past ten years until at this time there are more adoptive parents seeking pure Caucasian infants than there are infants available for adoption.

Adoptions in Hawaii

The history of adoptions in the Territory had a different beginning. In Hawaii, among the Hawaiians, rearing someone else's child, whether legitimate or illegitimate, was an acceptable tradition and the gift of one's child to a relative or friend was an act of love and respect. This practice of hanai was not cemented by any legal action and was not confined to poverty stricken children. It is impossible to state to what extent the informal

[1] L. M. and E. C. Brooks, Adventuring in Adoption (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 3.

practice of hanai still exists, but we do know a large number of Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian children are being adopted each year.

In 1951 Hawaii had the highest adoption rate of the twenty-five states reporting comparable data to the United States Children's Bureau. National statistics for the past few years are not immediately available, but Hawaii is still probably close to the top in adoptions per capita.

Over the past ten years, approximately 600 children have been legally adopted annually in the Territory of Hawaii. During this period there has been some fluctuation in adoption figures but no discernable trend. The latest year for which adoption statistics are available is 1956. During that year, of the 611 children involved in adoption in the Territory, 502 resided in the City and County of Honolulu, 52 on Hawaii, 41 on Maui, and 16 on Kauai.

The above figure of approximately 600 children adopted annually can be very misleading to the childless couples seeking to adopt a child not related to themselves. "Although adoption is ordinarily considered the process by which a child becomes a member of a family to which he is unrelated, 72 per cent of all petitions filed in 1956 were filed by step-parents or other relatives, such as aunts, uncles, grandparents; by far the largest of these were step-parents. The remainder (28 per cent) were filed by persons unrelated to the child."[2]

Over the years, approximately 20 per cent of the children involved in adoption petitions are placed with persons not related to them. Of these children placed with non-related persons, about half are placed by social agencies and about half by other individuals such as friends, physicians, lawyers.

The children for whom adoption petitions were filed in 1956 were almost equally divided between those born out of wedlock and those born in wedlock. Non-relatives were the petitioners for the majority (68 per cent) of the adoptive children born out of wedlock. In contrast, relatives filed petitions for the majority (59 per cent) of the adoptive children born in wedlock.

In 1956 in Honolulu[3] the largest number of children involved in adoption petitions were of Part Hawaiian ancestry; the next largest group was Caucasian; and the third largest group was Japanese. Part Hawaiians accounted for 36 per cent of the total; Caucasians for 24 per cent; Japanese for 9 per cent; Filipino for 5 per cent. Children of mixed racial ancestry other than Part Hawaiian accounted for 12 per cent. Racial ancestry was not specified in 10 per cent. Other races represented less than 1 per cent each.

Legal Aspects of Adoption

Since adoption is a legal process it is important that adoption laws be written and administered in a manner that will give adequate protection

[2] Territory of Hawaii, Department of Public Welfare, Adoption of Children in Hawaii for the year ended in December 31, 1956, p. 2.

[3] Honolulu Juvenile Court Annual Report 1956, p. 55. (Racial statistics were not available for the total Territory.)

to all three parties involved: the child, the natural parents, and the adopting parents. In 1953 the Adoption Statutes of Hawaii were completely revised and modernized on the basis of recommendations of the United States Children's Bureau. A committee composed of representatives from the court, social agencies, and interested citizens worked during 1951 and 1952 to formulate proposals which resulted in the enactment by our Legislature of these new laws which afford greater protection to all three parties. "Termination of Parental Rights" legislation was also enacted which permits the court for valid reasons in a separate hearing to separate legally the child from his parents and to make him unquestionably available for placement for adoption. Without going into legal terminology, we might note some of the significant effects of these revisions. Children who previously might have been deprived of a permanent home are now made available for adoption. After the natural parents have surrendered their child and he has been placed in an adoptive home, he cannot be removed unless it is for the child's best interests. Previously the relationship between the child and the adoptive parents was quite insecure until the adoption was finalized by law. Inheritance rights of an adopted child were clarified. Greater confidentiality of records and of hearings was achieved. Territorial Law provides that a new birth certificate in the name of the adoptive family be issued at the time the adoption decree is final.

The history of laws relative to adoption and to the child born out of wedlock reflects the changing attitude of society.

> The common law of England from which our law stems was ruthless in its denial of any rights to children born out of wedlock. The legal status of the child was deplorable. He was variously described as filius nullius--nobody's child; filius populi--the child of the people; heres nullius--nobody's heir. He was kin to no one, not of the blood of his father. . . . He was not even considered the lawful child of his own mother and could not inherit from her. . . .
>
> As late as the middle of the nineteenth century we find an English court defining the mother's relation to her child born out of wedlock as no different from that of any stranger.[4]

The early laws of the United States relative to the child born out of wedlock, and the natural parents of such a child appear to have been based on punishment of the offender. The history of paternity or bastardy proceedings well illustrates this point in that in many states to this date the proceedings are still quasi-criminal in nature and in some states begetting a child out of wedlock is a crime. Until recently our Territorial Laws regarding paternity had been quasi-criminal but through legislative action this has been changed and the proceedings are now completely civil in nature.

A sound adoption law cannot be regarded as the entire solution to protecting the rights and insuring the future welfare of the three parties involved in an adoption. One cannot legislate social values, good will, true generosity of feeling, sound judgment, genuine respect and compassion, and enlightened understanding of the needs of the natural parents, the child, and the adopting parents; and yet these characteristics or their lack in a

[4] S. B. Schatkin, Disputed Paternity Proceedings, (Mather Bender and Company, 1944), p. 9.

given community will determine in large measure how adoption planning is worked out in practice within the existing law.

We must remind ourselves therefore, though one to four centuries separate us from the early English Poor Laws and common law, and from our own country's early poor laws and its era of publicly branding the unwed mother--that the social conscience of a society matures slowly and very often unevenly. From the statistics reported, at present we not only have to take into consideration our attitudes towards the unwed mother and her child, but towards the increasing number of married couples who believe placing their legal child for adoption is a necessity.

Despite the enormous progress made in social agency practices and advances in state adoption laws, it was possible for the practice of selling babies in adoption (black markets) to develop and flourish in the United States. In 1955 and 1956 the country was shocked by the finding of the United States Senate Sub-committee on Juvenile Delinquency which investigated the black market operations in adoption or "commercial child adoption practices."[5] We can thankfully say that no such operation has ever had a start here in Hawaii.

We wish we could say, however, that for every child adopted in the Territory, the most favorable plan possible for him had been worked out and that as little as possible had been left to chance. Mr. Joseph Reid has written that "adoption agencies are a creature of the public, not just in the sense that they are financially supported by the public, but more importantly, that society has created agencies to fulfill its responsibility to children. If for no other reason, adoption agencies and the profession that is engaged in adoption (social work), have a pressing responsibility to clarify their values and principles and to make them known."[6] The three agencies offering adoption services are the Territorial Department of Public Welfare, the Catholic Social Service, and the Child and Family Service. Their views and of that part of our society that supports them are well stated in part in a further quotation from Mr. Reid.

> Children should not be passed . . . from hand to hand without society . . . taking responsibility to see that the child is protected.
>
> The three parties involved in every adoption have rights and must be assured certain protection, both through legal measures and the responsible administration of services. . . .
>
> Every child needs and has the right to have his own parents and the first obligation of society is to make it possible for him to grow up with his own people in his own home. No child should unnecessarily be deprived of his own parents.

[5] Juvenile Delinquency (Commercial Child Adoption Practices): Hearing before the Sub-committee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee of the Judiciary of the U. S. Senate, 84th Congress, First Session, S. Res. 62, July 15th and 16, 1955, Second Session, S. Res. 173 on S. 3021, May 16, 1956, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1956.

[6] Joseph H. Reid, "Principles, Values, and Assumptions Underlying Adoption Practice," Social Work Journal of the National Association of Social Workers, (II, No. 1, January, 1957), p. 22.

The child's need for continuous and loving care and guidance is issential to his well being and development and to the future of the nation. If the child's own parents are unable or cannot be helped to give the care that is expected for children, it must be provided by others.

The purpose of adoption is to provide for each child who has been permanently deprived of a family of his own who can benefit by family life in a home in which he will have the opportunity for healthy personality development.

Out of the knowledge and experience gained from social work and other fields dealing with children, parents, and child-parent relationships, certain principles have evolved that are guides to practice. Their aim is to carry out the purpose of adoption as conceived by the community which has created adoption services. Among these is the belief that, as a practice, there needs to be . . . determination of the needs of the child, the natural parents, and the adoptive parents before a sound adoption placement can be made. Second, that it is sound practice to place the infant in his adoptive home just as early as possible, consistent with the determination that his parents have come to a firm decision concerning his release. Third, that there are certain essential qualities for parenthood and potential adoptive parents should possess these qualities. . . .

Everything that is done must be in the child's best interest, but the natural parents must be free from duress or pressure in making their decisions. The adoptive parents must have an equal chance with others as they seek a child. All three parties to the adoption must be protected in regard to confidentiality.[7]

Historical Sketch of Agencies' Dilemma

In Hawaii as elsewhere agencies have been misunderstood on many scores and have themselves contributed to the misunderstanding of their good intentions. A quick historical look at the problem will explain in part why this was so. A generation ago, more or less depending upon the community, adoption was not popular. Mr. Reid's statement that "attitudes towards . . . bringing children of different 'blood' into the family set up strong barriers to adoption"[8] was as true here as on the Mainland. Meanwhile, the social agencies had responsibility for making permanent plans for the children under their care, and these children represented a cross-section of the racial and nationality groups in the Territory. As on the Mainland, agencies actively had to solicit adoption homes for their children. Against the prevailing attitudes of the times this was not easy, and many children grew older before adoption homes could be found for them, and for some who needed homes, families never were found.

These conditions, as on the Mainland, had an unfortunate effect on the social agencies. Though always child-centered in emphasis, in their eagerness to encourage as good an opinion of adoption as possible, agencies got into the habit of proceeding with caution so extreme that their practices

7 Ibid., p. 23.
8 Ibid., p. 24.

were not in keeping with the risks adopting parents showed themselves willing to take when, during the past ten years, adoption rapidly became overwhelmingly popular. For a time, the agencies were criticized for not placing children at an early enough age; and this cannot be denied. The agencies were preoccupied with placing "blue ribbon" babies[9] whose promise of joy to the adopting couple could not be questioned. In an effort to guarantee the credentials of their children and implicitly thereby the success of their adoptions, the agencies for a period were misled as well by the earlier tenets of other professions. Fifteen years ago, like the social agencies with whom they worked, pediatricians were cautious in clearing a child medically for adoption because so much could not be determined during the first six months or year of a child's life. Psychologists were then hopeful that psychological testing could accurately predict a child's later potentialities--and indeed it can for children who are well out of their infancy, and at some future point it may be able to do so for the infant. And therefore children grew older before the agencies felt they could safely proceed with adoption.

Hawaii can be pleased that its adoption agencies made a rather more rapid shift than many of their Mainland counterparts. According to Mr. Reid, "Broad cultural considerations have deeply affected the principles and convictions of agencies. It may be trite to say that all of us live within our culture and cannot divorce ourselves from it. . . . As the child lost economic value, he gained social value. Children are not longer thought of as chattels to be passed by deed from one family to another. . . . A family . . . is not considered complete or meaningful unless it has children. Childless couples have a multiplicity and diversity of pressures upon them to have children. . . . In fairness it can be said that it is not socially acceptable not to have them.

"The adoptive parents today are not doing a child a favor by adopting him. Rather they are seen as people who are fulfilling themselves and enriching their own lives by the process of adoption."[10]

Perhaps Hawaii's adoption agencies changed more rapidly because they had the help of Hawaii's unique culture, the increasing blending of many races and sub-cultures, and the cherished position of children in the Hawaiian culture.

Hawaii's Social Agencies--Present Views and Practices

Let us take this question up in terms of the three parties always involved in any adoption.

The natural parents--The agencies believe it is very important to offer generous help to the natural parents seeking adoption for their child. All services to them should be administered in such a manner that privacy and confidentiality are possible and that unintentional duress is not added to complicate the natural parents' thinking about their situation and decision.

The child--The agencies believe that an infant urgently needs an early and sustained relationship with a single mother person[11] and that

9 Ibid., pp. 24 and 25.
10 Ibid., pp. 25 and 26.
11 Maternal Care and Mental Health (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

a child should be joined with his adoptive parents at as early an age as possible, straight from the hospital if circumstances permit. Our agencies are no longer "blue ribbon" minded, and are willing for adoptive parents to assume the normal and reasonable risks of an early placement. These are the same risks parents take in having their own children.

The over-exaggerated emphasis of exact matching (racial and nationality) of child and adoptive parents which so paralyzed for a time adoption planning in sections of the Mainland existed here in Hawaii to a lesser degree. At present our social agencies are guided by the adoptive parents' views on the kind of child they wish to adopt and by an appraisal of the kind of child a particular couple could be expected to succeed with in the light of their personality strengths and situation rather than be pre-conceived ideas of matching on the part of the agencies.

Agencies believe that in adoption planning the emphasis must be on the welfare of the child, on finding and selecting the most suitable home for the child and not on finding a child for a particular couple, however much their feelings go out to the couple seeking a child. This emphasis is a particularly upsetting one for those couples who are childless and who are seeking the kind of child much in demand. Yet in doing otherwise the agencies would not be fulfilling their responsibilities to the children placed under their care.

The agencies have under care for adoption children from all the different racial groups to be found in the Territory. For many children suitable homes can be found with relative ease. For other children, unfortunately not small in number, homes are hard to find. These hard-to-place children are of certain mixed racial backgrounds. Also in the hard-to-place group, the agencies will always have some children for adoption with some degree of physical handicap but in other respects normal and appealing and fully able to benefit by and respond to adoptive family living if homes could be found for them. It is sad to think there are children yearning for a home of their own and families longing for a child to love, and the two groups cannot get together.

In regard to the principles advocated by Mr. Reid in the above quotations we can say that his convictions are shared by the Territory's three social agencies.

> Certainly, as child welfare agencies, they have not been established primarily for the purpose of providing services to help the childless. Basically, they are child-centered agencies to find homes for children needing adoption. . . . The job of the agency is to help adoptive applicants determine . . . whether they are able to meet the needs of the kind of children for whom the agency needs homes. . . . Helping the applicant decide and become an adoptive parent is a real service. The agency can also offer him (the applicant) the real service of selecting a child . . . whose needs this family can meet.
>
> A third service the agency can render . . . is to make certain that the child is really relinquished, that the adoptive parents are protected against intervention by the natural parents. Here its work with unmarried mothers or other natural parents is the key. It is not just a legal matter, but essentially a psychological one that requires the professional help of case work.12

12 Joseph H. Reid, op. cit., p. 28.

There has been much community misunderstanding in regard to the agencies' requirements of adoptive parents. Agencies are not looking for "perfect" parents, but simply for parents whose parental qualities and expectations fit the needs of the children requiring homes. Couples vary widely in the kind of child they can take on. Children vary widely in what they need from adoptive parents depending upon the child's age, what has happened to him prior to his natural parents' decision to release him, his health and physical and emotional well being, and his particular background. It is understandable then that some couples will get children rather readily and quickly, and it is no reflection upon the worth of couples who accomplish adoption of a child more slowly, or perhaps not at all.

Contrary to public opinion, the agencies in the Territory are really quite flexible in their requirements. There are none of the arbitrary regulations so frequently found in some communities on the Mainland, such as residence, age, ownership of property, wealth, length of marriage. The agencies are looking for the same qualities in adoptive couples which would make them comfortable and helpful parents for their own children. They believe parents can bring with them a wide range of strengths and weaknesses and still be satisfactory parents. Their expectations need be only relatively flexible and reasonable. Other relative qualities are a satisfying and stable marriage, sufficient maturity and stability to accommodate to the needs of a child and to respect a child for his own sake in addition to whatever personal expectations a couple hopes a child to fulfill. There is additional need for sufficient moral fibre and standards of decency to guide a child in his behavior and social relationships, combined with the necessary giving type of love which nourishes a child's development in all areas, and sufficient income and capacity for home management to meet a family's basic material needs. Adoption is possible for couples of very modest means as well as those enjoying a sizable income and a wealth of material advantages. In addition, adoptive couples must be able to be comfortable about a child's adoptive status and willing to tell him and others he is adopted.

Prospective adoptive parents will be interested in another additional practice and trend which distinguishes agency adoptions in the Territory from many of the Mainland. By law, there is no fixed "supervisory" period. This means that the social agencies here can approve of the adoptive parents finalizing the legal steps at any point the adoptive parents are ready to do so and no further service from the agency is needed. Adoptive parents need no longer arbitrarily wait six months to a year before a child is made legally fully theirs.

Of significance too is the agencies' interest in placing second and even third children with couples who have already adopted one when this is requested and when this is advisable from the standpoint of the adopting family and the needs of the additional children. This means adopted children need not be only children except when the adoptive family's interest and needs make a one-child family preferable.

Agencies' Hopes for the Future

In sketching our social agencies' outlook on adoption in the way we have, we do not wish to suggest the agencies are entirely satisfied with their adoption practices. Far from it. Some natural parents are still receiving insufficient help. Too many children are not being placed early enough into adoptive homes. To the social worker responsible for the child, it is small comfort that an insufficient number of homes for hard-

to-place children is at present the reason for the delay rather than attitudes of the agencies. Too many promising adoptive applicants are remaining childless when, if these children's needs could be better understood and accepted by them, many of these couples could be enjoying the rich rewards of the love of a child and of contributing to the happiness and development of a child who needs them. Successful experiments on the Mainland are pointing the way to achieve the adoption of hard-to-place children and are a real hope for the future.

Another hope of the future in the field of adoption is that of research. Agencies believe they could learn much from their adoptive parents, and that such knowledge would be useful in improving their services in adoption, by the opportunity to test their assumptions, principles, and methods of practice. At the present time all available money and more is sorely needed to carry on the agencies' direct service to the natural parents, the child, and the adoptive parents.

Agencies have the satisfaction, however, of learning from their adoptive parents in many instances, such as when adoptive parents reapply for second and third children or carry on an annual correspondence at Christmas time to report to the agencies upon the joy they are experiencing with their children and the events that have occurred in their lives.

With so much recent progress made on the part of the agencies, and with the steadily shifting cultural attitudes within the Territory, it is possible to envision further progress in the community's adoption planning.

Editorial note: In addition to the suggestions for research in this field suggested by the authors, sociologists naturally become intrigued by such questions as the following: What factors help us to understand the increased interest in adoption, both in our nation and in Hawaii? What are the differences among racial groups in the cultural definitions of adoptions and in the way their definitions are changing? What are the changing attitudes regarding adoptions across ethnic lines? What problems arise in such adoptions? What are the opportunities for basic research on personality development of adopted children?

STRANGERS IN PARADISE
Chronic Crisis in a Honolulu Downtown Church

Ian M. Chapman

The church is always facing a transition, either immediate or near at hand. No city is static. There is constant moving of peoples with changing industrial patterns. This is to say that one must think of a city congregation as a church in continuous transition. It is a part of the nature of the city church wherever it is found. This condition requires an answer from the church and the answer should be in accord with its faith. The church of which this study was made was the first of its denomination in the Hawaiian Islands. For the past twenty-eight years it has been facing many difficulties and problems.

Of Caesar, Mark Anthony said, "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." The past problems are still alive and that is what the community remembers, rather than the good that has been accomplished here. For whatever good the church has been to the community or to the individual, it is remembered by few. For the difficulties that arose because of bitter and prejudiced church members, and because of weak and little concerned ministers are still our skeletons in the cupboard. This is not to say that the picture is totally black, far from it. The church has had an important place in this community through the years, working constructively in the community and in the lives of our "strangers in paradise." I use this term because I believe it connotes our church situation. The membership of the church is approximately 99 per cent Caucasian and 1 per cent Oriental. The Caucasian membership is divided into approximately 80 per cent service personnel and 20 per cent civilian, mainly white-collar. The Oriental percentage is to be found in the Sunday School and the Youth Department in our evening meetings.

I believe this breakdown speaks for itself. For the church is composed of strangers, coming together from all over the United States for at the most one and one-half years. This problem can be shown more specifically by this illustration. When the present minister came to the church, it had 50 active members. From that time in 1955 to the present day, we have added over 650 to the membership roles. But there are only five members still present now who were here when the pastor first came. In the last three years we have lost about one-half as many as we have gained, we now have approximately 400 members.

Let me describe the problem further by mentioning the average age of the congregation. Most of the membership being in military service, the ages are very young. The church average is approximately 24 with the largest proportion being 21 or 22.

We now have several members who are businessmen in important positions downtown, but this does not help much, for they too are here only for a short time. So they are also classified as strangers.

We are cognizant of the fact that unless we develop church loyalty among the local people, the church will never be strong or even effective. But many barriers of the past have to be overcome. Many times in gatherings the comment is made that the church is a "Haole" church. This stems from past policies and prejudices, especially of the past ministers. We participate in joint singspirations with all the local Oriental churches around us and enjoy ourselves immensely, but because of one problem in particular, our Oriental membership does not rise. The problem concerns

the sex ratio. For we have at least six men to every woman in the church. In the church we are not so naive to think that the single service fellows come only to worship. Many have been on a ship for six months or so and having had their fill of Hotel Street, they come to the church. Of course the small number of girls that we have in the church, whether they be fat or thin, beautiful or ugly, get plenty of attention. But, when the parents become aware of the situation, they usually stop their daughters' coming to church. In some cases the fellows are definitely to blame, for they can be termed as being in a state of personal disorganization. They are away from home, and parents, and think themselves on a "Hawaiian" vacation where there are no such things as morals. Furthermore, they do not understand the "island psychology." This is especially noticeable in the inter-racial boy and girl relationships. The attitude, generally speaking, of the local civilians is not very friendly, for they have "typed" all servicemen as trouble-makers. The servicemen know and can sense this friction and they are at times resentful.

But in all fairness to our servicemen, the fault lies often with the girls themselves. It may happen that a local girl does, in spite of being warned, accept even the most forward attentions of a man, and eventually both may be compromised. Such an occurrence may then lead to the withdrawal of Oriental girls active in the church from church activities and of course the natural and uninvolved relations between the local girls and servicemen receive a set-back.

This is just a very brief analysis of an extremely complex problem. It is very hard for the professional church worker not to be pessimistic in the midst of such a situation, and feel that no matter how hard he works, the results are constantly being nullified.

In The Organization Man by William H. Whyte, Jr., he gives the results of a survey as to why people of a certain suburban community came to church. In first place was the minister, then, in order, the Sunday School, location, denomination, and music. Finding this very interesting, I decided to survey our church membership. Listing every name on the mailing list I telephoned them and asked them why they initially came to the church and why they stayed. The list covered some church officers, a percentage of "pew fillers," and a percentage of our Oriental membership. Although the study was not particularly scientific or well conducted, I felt the results significant. For in their respective place of importance were: denomination, minister, location and its character as "a friendly church," Sunday School, and finally music. Because the minister ranked so close to the denomination in choice, perhaps with a larger sample these positions might be reversed. But I thought it interesting that the denomination should have moved from fourth place to first place.

Having the general situation now in front of us, we need to turn to certain special problems connected with such a small church, in a chronic state of crisis. We shall consider three areas: leadership, finances, and the progress of the church.

As might be expected, we have a continual leadership problem. We have a joke in the church that we suffer from two "diseases." First, having babies, and second, getting one's "orders." This last is really no joke; it involves many serious problems. Usually when a single fellow or couple know they are going to leave the island soon, the tendency is to neglect their responsibilities, and then lose interest in the church. Therefore, it is a continuous and huge job to be filling church offices. Our by-laws state

that a deacon is to serve for three years, but I have never seen any deacon stay long enough to be re-elected. This of course is a headache for the Pastor. For he has a personnel problem on his hands when he should be doing his pastoral duties. It also is quite physically exhausting as one never seems to move ahead.

The finances of the church are also high on the concern list. The single servicemen earn little more than $100 per month and the couples not much more. We have only a few members in the $5,000-$15,000 range. Yet last November we conducted what is known as the 8-Step-Every-Member-Canvass, and the membership pledged approximately $25,000. This is quite substantial for a small church and of course as the membership turns over through the year, others will have to come in and take over the financial responsibilities and obligations of those who have moved.

Although financially speaking the picture is a little grey, the church has advanced much through these last three years. An $80,000 Educational Building was constructed and two mission churches have been established. Usually the new mission churches are established in areas where we already have some members, so that takes away from the downtown church some financial backing. Yet the church advances and grows.

This might sound quite impossible, but there are some good points to a church for transients. For instance, besides the good talent that we often get into the church, we also draw some undesirable characters who sometimes create unpleasant situations. A redeeming part here is that we know they will be leaving soon, so no one gets overly disturbed.

We also have to take a very positive attitude toward people and the work in general, for the tendency is ever present in this sort of a church to think that nothing is being accomplished. At times we wish the people would stay so that we could see their lives change and develop. But we consider ourselves a training-ground and mission field for the Mainland. For most of the people who come to us are inexperienced in church work or very lackadaisical in their Christian life. Because of the great personnel needs of the church, we can put anyone to work. Being placed in challenging situations helps them find themselves and develops any latent talent they might have.

As we mentioned in the introduction, this is a problem that is facing the whole United States. Recognizing this problem one major denomination met in a special Urban Convocation last October to study this problem. Their main conclusions were as follows: There is no easy answer; the church needs to have more of a social concern for the people, as well as an emphasized evangelistic concern. Certainly this is true in our case here in Honolulu. There is no easy answer. Many churches have moved away from downtown to the residential area where their people have moved, for example, the United Church of Christ. We have sought an answer in establishing new churches in needy areas. Yet the problem downtown remains for the new churches have drawn many out of the adult membership and from the Sunday School of the downtown church. As a means of solving this and other problems we are now working on a two-fold program. First, we seek to develop our lay-leaders and stimulate more lay-interest in the church through their participation in church services and the like. The second is to help the church find roots in the community among the local people. To do this, we are increasing our emphasis on our Sunday School and also starting YMCA boys and girls clubs in the church. We acknowledge the length of time this is going to take and the problems we will encounter before we can make any significant impression.

As to the future of our church, time only will tell, as it caters to the "strangers in Paradise." During 1941, after Pearl Harbor, the church literally fell flat on its face because of the number who moved out of the community. We have the past to warn us and the future to prevent a recurrence.

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